

COINS
OF
MEDLÆVAL INDIA
FROM
THE SEVENTH CENTURY
DOWN TO
THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUESTS

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K C I E, C S I, R E

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PREFACE

THE successful irruption of the White Huns into Northern India in the beginning of the sixth century A D gave the first shock to the stability of the great Gupta Empire, which had lasted for two centuries without a check. The western provinces of Malwa and Rajputâna, from the Narbada to the Jumna as far east as Gwalior, were seized and held by the conquerors, while the Gangetic provinces were overrun and plundered and the temples destroyed as far east as Magadhâ. From that time the eastern provinces were in an unsettled and disturbed state and the power of the Guptas began rapidly to decline. Most of the states whose coins are described in the following pages rose to power and established their independence during the following two centuries.

The coinage which under the Guptas had been continued on a settled system of *dinars* of gold, and *half karshas* of silver began very early to be debased. In the western provinces the old thick *dramma*s of silver were given up for small thin pieces copied from the Sassanian money, but without any letters or legends to show by whom they were issued. The Indo Scythian type of the copper money was continued in the Panjâb and Kashmir down to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The

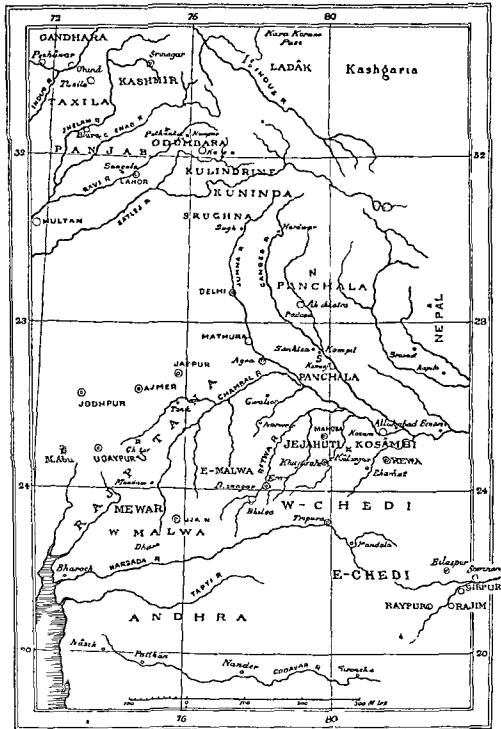
coin types of the Horseman and Bull of the Brahmans of Kabul were continued by the Ghaznavis, by the Ghoris, and by the different Rajput states of the North-West of India. And lastly, the Indian type of the Goddess Parvati, introduced by the Rajas of Chedi, was adopted by the Chandellas of Mahoba, by the Tomaras of Delhi, by the Rahtors of Kanauj, and even by Muhammad bin Sâm. All these different types are described in the following pages

A C

[The author of this work died on 28th November, 1893, whilst it was passing through the press. The author's sons are indebted to Mr E J Rapson, of the British Museum, for kindly reading and correcting the whole of the proofs.]

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PANJAB AND N W-INDIA

COINS OF MEDLÆVAL INDIA.

UNPUBLISHED COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA

IN my account of the *Coins of Ancient India*, I purposely omitted the coins of the Western Satraps of Malwa and Surâshtra, as well as the coins of the Guptas of Magadha, because both series had already been very fully described, the former by Pandit Bhagwân Lâl, in the *Royal Asiatic Society Journal*, and the latter by Mr Vincent Smith in the same journal. But since these papers were published some new coins have been obtained, and as some of them are of considerable interest, I think it is right to make them known at once.

Plate I, Fig 1 —Copper coin of Taxila, 0.7 inch, 61 grains
—a very perfect coin

Obv —A *Bodhi Tree* surrounded by Buddhist railing—
Suastika and *Laurine* in field

Rev —The *Taxila symbol* in a circle (See *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl II)

Plate I, Fig 2 —Copper coin of Râjputana 0.7 inch,
121 grains, in fine preservation

Obv —*Humped Bull*, standing to left, surrounded by a
radiated circle

Rev —*Male figure* with right hand raised Indian legend,
Iajna Janajadasa (See *Coins of Ancient India*
Pl VIII, Fig 19)

I take this opportunity to describe some other ancient coins, which are not given in the Plate

No 3 —Square copper coin, 56 grains, with Indian monogram forming *Iayabhu* quite clearly

No 4 —Round copper coin, 32 grains

Obv —Standing female

Rev —Bodhi tree, with Indian legend *Age lale Abhi cha ja*
The capital A s are both initial letters

No 5 —Round copper coin, 120 grains.

Obv —Humped bull walking to right

Rev —Bodhi tree Indian legend, *Abhi cha Mitasa*

No 6 —Round white metal coin, 36 grains

Obv —Lion with tail curled over back Indian legend, five letters, *S* only being distinct

No 7 —Duplicate, 52 grains Legend lost

No 8 —Round copper coin, 99 grains

Obv —Elephant

Rev —Female standing Indian legend overhead
Bhagarata

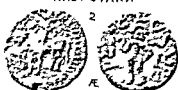
I —WESTERN SATRAIS

The long series of silver coins found in Málwa, Gujara^t, and the adjacent provinces, which have been described by Prinsep, Thomas, and others, under the name of the "Sah Kings of Suráshtra," are now known as the "Coins of the Western Satraps" The title, first read as "*Sah*," as we now know from well-preserved coins and inscriptions, is properly either *Sinha* or *Sena* The mistake originated in the small letters of the coin legends which were generally wanting in vowels The series has been very fully described by the late Pandit Bhagwán Lál Indrají,

TAXILA



RAJPUTANA



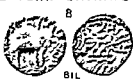
NAHAPANA



CHASHTANA



WESTERN SATRAPS



BALABHI

RANA HASTI

KRISHNA RAJA



and carefully edited and illustrated by Mr. E J Rapson, of the British Museum¹

The coins of the Western Satraps begin with *Nahapana*, whose inscriptions are dated in the years 41 and 46, which I would tentatively assign to the era of the Málwas, beginning in B C 57. I am led to this assignment by the fact that some of his coins were certainly found at Ajmer in Rajputána, while his conquests to the south would seem to be due to his son-in-law *Ushunadatta*, a Saka chief. Two of his coins, obtained at Ajmer, I now give in Plate I, Figs 4 and 5.

The family of Nahapana was succeeded by *Chashtana*, the Triastanes of Ptolemy, whose capital was Ujjain. His date is now, I believe, accepted as beginning with the Saka era in A D 79. Of himself and some of his successors I give a few coins in Plate I, to supplement the Pandit's account.

The silver coins of these Satraps are evident copies of the Greek hemidrachms, of which, as we know from the *Periplus*, those of Menander and Apollodotus were still current at Barygaza as late as the latter end of the first century A D. They are apparently copies of the Philopator coins of Apollodotus.

The copper coins of these Satraps are of purely Indian origin. The Bodhi-tree, and the Dharma Chakra Pillar, are both common types of the early Buddhist coins. The humped bull, the elephant, and the chaitya are also well-known Buddhist types. But the thunderbolt and the arrow, which appear on all the known coins of Nahapána, are quite new types.

The coins of Rudra Síha, son of Satya Síha, No 13,

¹ *Journal Royal Asiatic Soc etj* vol xxii p 639

and of Sinha Sena the sister's son of Rudra Sinha, No 14, are both dated the former in Varshe 310, and the latter in Varshe 304 My last addition is a coin of Rudra Sinha, No 15, on which he takes the title of Maharaja Kshatrapa

Pandit Bhagwan Lal has drawn attention to the fact that *Sal Sam* 171 = A D 249, the latest date of Vijaya Sena, is the initial point of the *Tilutika Era* and I may add also of the Chedi Era

WESTERN SATRAPS

A D	No	S S A D on coins			Other dates
		S S	A D		
79	I	—	—	CHASHTANA	
110	II	—	—	Jayadaman	
130	III	72	150	Rudra Daman	
170	IV	—	—	Damajada Sri	
175	V	100	178	Jivadaman	
180	VI	103	181	Rudra Sinha	118
200	VII	122	200	Rudra Sena	125 142
222	VIII	144	222	Sanghadaman	
222	IX	144	222	Prithivi Sena	
225	X	148	226	Dama Sena	157
232	XI	154	232	Damajada Sri	
236	XII	158	236	Viradaman	
238	XIII	160	238	Yasodaman	161
238	XIV	160	238	Vijaya Sena	171 = A D 249
250	—	—	—	ISWARA DATTA	
258	XV	180	258	Damajada Sri	190
208	XVI	180	258	Rudra Sena	188
278	XVII	200	278	Bhartridaman	214
276	XVIII	198	276	Viswa Sinha	203
—	XIX	?	—	Sinha Sena	
200	XX	216	294	Viswa Sena	223
—	XXI	—	—	JIVA DAMAN	No coins
305	XXII	231	309	Rudra Sinha	240
316	XXIII	240	318	Yasodaman	246
—	XXIV	—	—	RUDRA DĀMAN	No coins
345	XXV	270	348	Rudra Sena	295
—	XXVI	—	—	SATYA SINHA	No coins
378	XXVII	300	378	Rudra Sinha	
382	XXVIII	304	382	Sinha Sena	

GENEALOGY OF WESTERN SATRAPS

	A.D.	
1	76	I GHASHTANA
2	100	II Jaya dāman
3	126	III Rudra-dāman
4	160	IV Dāmajada-Sri
5	176	V Jaya-dāman
6	200	VI Dāmajada-Sri
7	225	VII Rudra-Sinha
8	260	VIII Sinha Sena
9	225	IX Prithivi Sena
	250	X Dāma Sena
	275	XI Dāmajada Sri
	300	XII Virā-dāman
	325	XIII Yaso dāman
	350	XIV Vajaya Sena
		XV Dāmajada-Sri
		XVI Rudra-Sena
		XVII Bhartri-dāman
		XVIII Viswa-Sinha
		XIX Sinha Sena
		XX Viswa-Sena
		XXI JIVA DĀMAN
		XXII Rudra Sinha
		XXIII Yaso dāman
		XXIV RUDRA-DĀMAN
		XXV Rudra Sena
		XXVI SATYA-SINHA
		XXVII daughter Rudra-Sinha
		XXVIII Sinha Sena

(f)
between XIV and XV
ISWARA-DATTA

PLATE I

No	Metal	Grms	
3	AR		<p style="text-align: center;">NAHAPANA.</p> <p>British Museum, from Bhagwan Lal, see his Plate, Fig 1—Junagarh in Gujarât. <i>Head of King to right</i> Remains of Greek legend to left, unread <i>Arrow and Thunderbolt</i> Indian legend, <i>Rajnah Kshaharatasa Nahapanasa</i> Gandharian legend, <i>Ranah Chhaharatasa Nahapanasa</i>²</p>
4	Æ		<p>Author, from Pushkar, near Ajmer Bhagwan Lal, Fig 1a <i>Arrow and Thunderbolt</i> Indian legend not clear, but apparently <i>Nahapana</i> <i>Deer and Dharma chakra on Pillar</i> Legend apparently Greek, IAEΩC</p>
5	Æ		<p>Author, from Ajmer <i>Arrow and Thunderbolt</i> Indian legend distinct, <i>Nahapanasa</i> <i>Bodhi Tree, surrounded by Buddhist railing</i></p>
6	AR	25	<p style="text-align: center;">CHASHTANA</p> <p>Author, from Gujarât <i>Head of King to right, with collar round neck</i> Some Greek letters <i>Chaitya</i> Sun with 16 rays to right, crescent to left, snake or wavy line below Indian legend, <i>Rajuo Mahakshatriyasa Ghosmotika putrasa Chishtanasa</i> Gandharian legend, <i>Chathuvasa</i></p>
7	Æ	28	<p style="text-align: center;">JAYA DAMAN</p> <p>Author, from Pushkar near Ajmer, square coin, see Bhagwan Lal, Fig 3a <i>Indian Bull to right, in front, trident and axe combined</i> Indian legend, <i>Jaya daman</i>, incomplete <i>Four circles, joined by a cross, the symbol of Ujam</i></p>

² This Gandharian legend (in *Akharoshtri* letters) was first pointed out by me

PLATE I

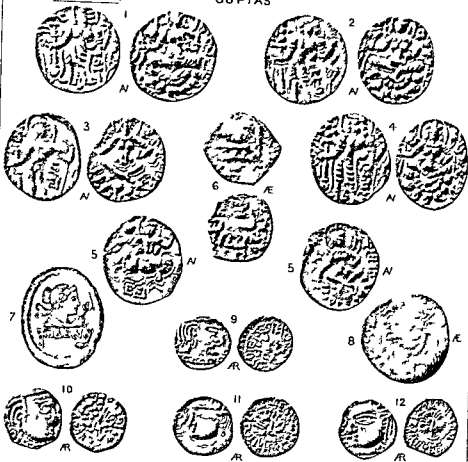
No	Metal	Grs	
8	Bil	24	<p style="text-align: center;">JIVA-DAMAN</p> <p>Author, from Pushkar, near Ajmer, unique, apparently Billon <i>Humped Bull</i> to right, long inscription, Greek letters <i>Chaitya</i>, with sun and moon, waved line below Indian legend, <i>Rajnah mahakshatrapasa, Jiva-damasa.</i></p>
9	Bil	38	<p style="text-align: center;">RUDRA DAMAN</p> <p>Author, from Pushkar, near Ajmer, unique, apparently Billon <i>Humped Bull</i> to right Legend illegible <i>Chaitya</i>, with sun and moon, waved line below Indian legend, <i>Rajnah Mahakshatrapasa Rudra Damasa</i></p>
10	Bil	21	<p style="text-align: center;">ANONYMOUS COINS</p> <p>Author, from Ujjain and Srangpur in Malwa <i>Elephant</i> to right, surrounded by circle of dots <i>Chaitya</i>, with sun and moon, waved line below Date in Indian figures, 129 = Rudra Sena</p>
11	Bil	29	<p>Author, from Ujjain Types as No 10, with date of 147 = Dama Sena</p>
12	Bil	20	<p>Author, from Ujjain Types as No 10, with date of 153 = Vira Daman</p>
13	R	27	<p style="text-align: center;">RUDRA SINHA, son of SATYA SINHA.</p> <p>Author, from Pushkar, near Ajmer <i>Head of Satrap</i> to right, date behind head, <i>Varshe, 310 (?)</i> <i>Chaitya</i>, with sun and moon Indian legend, <i>Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Sicami Satya Sinhasa putras</i> <i>Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Sicami Rudra Sinhast</i></p>

PLATE I

No	Metal	Grs	
14	ꣳ	28	<p style="text-align: center;">SINHA SENA</p> <p>Author, from Pushkar, near Ajmer <i>Head of Satrap to right, behind head, date 1018, 801</i> <i>Chaitya, with sun and moon</i> Indian legend, <i>Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Swami Rudra Sinhasa</i> <i>Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Swamiyasa Swami Sinha Senasa</i></p>
15	ꣳ	27	<p>Author, from Pushkar near Ajmer, unique <i>Head of Satrap to right</i> <i>Chaitya with sun and moon</i> Indian legend, <i>Maharaja Kshatrapa Swami Rudra Sinha putrasa</i> <i>Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Swami Sinha Senasya</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">BALABHI</p>
16	ꣳ	27	<p>Author, from Pushkar, near Ajmer <i>Head of King to right</i> Trident Indian legend, not read, tentative reading in <i>Archæol Survey, ix, G, 29</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">RANA HASTI</p>
17	ꣳ	7	<p>Author, from Rajputana, rare <i>Elephant to right</i> <i>Rev — Sri Rana Hasti, in two lines</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">KRISHNA RAJA RASHTRAKUTA</p>
18	ꣳ		<p>Author, from Rajputana, circa A D 875—1000. (See <i>Archæol Survey, vol ix, 29. Pl V, 26, 27, 28</i>)</p>
19	ꣳ		<p><i>Rude Head of King with moustaches No legend</i> <i>Recumbent Lull to right</i> Indian legend, <i>Parama Maheswara Maha ditya Palanudhyata, Sri Krishna Iyaja</i></p>

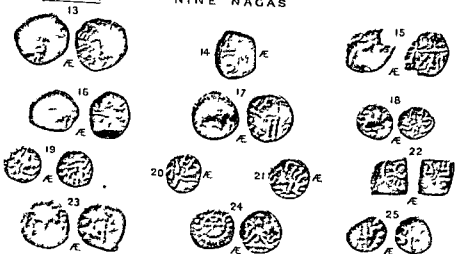
MAGADHA

GUPTAS



NARWAR

NINE NAGAS



II —THE GUPTAS OF MAGADHA

The genealogy of the Gupta family is derived from their inscriptions. The founder of the family was *Sri-Gupta*, towards the end of the third century, or about 260—270 A D. He is mentioned under this name by one of the Chinese pilgrims, who visited India in A D 670, as the founder of a monastery for the reception of Chinese pilgrims, about five hundred years before his visit. As he only refers to the time as *about* five hundred years, we may accept his statement as only an approximation to the true period, or say somewhere about the third or fourth century A D. Regarding this name, Mr Vincent Smith has adopted Mr Fleet's opinion that the *Sri* is only the usual honorific prefix of Rjas' names. This view I utterly reject, as it seems to me quite impossible that *Gupta* by itself could form a name. Like *Pala*, *Datta*, *Dasa*, *Rakshita*, it requires the addition of the name of some god or hero to form a name—without this addition it has no meaning. The Chinese pilgrims were aware of this, as they mention another *Sri Gupta*, who tried to kill Buddha, with his full name of *She li-lio to*, or *Sri-Gupta*,³ or "protected by *Sri, i e*, *Lakshmi*."

The date of the Guptas was for a long time doubtful, owing chiefly to a statement of Alberuni, which apparently meant that their era, the *Gupta kal*, was dated from their extinction. As they were lords paramount of North India for several centuries, the correct settlement of their date was very important. Luckily, their era is now fixed beyond all doubt, as starting from A D 319

³ I offer the English lawyer's name of *Ood deen* in his case of "Regina r Ood deen, as an equally absurd name for a Muhammadan

value of the coin was much less, being only two-thirds of those of the earlier Gupta kings of 123 grains, with 107 grains pure

WEIGHTS OF GOLD COINS

ROMAN.		Weight			
	Augustus—full wt., $\frac{1}{2}$ libra	126 25			} pure
	Do. Letronne .	121 94			
	Do. Brit. Mus.	121 26			
INDO-SCYTHIANS.		means	pure	alloy	
7	Wēma Kadphises	123 0	112 75	10 25	
11	Kanishka	123 0	112 75	10 25	
25	Havishka	123 0	112 75	10 25	
21	Vasu Deva	123 0	102 95	20 05	
64	LATER INDO SCYTHIANS.		pure	alloy	
	Kaneshki Viru	123 0	112 75	10 25	
	Shāka Mi	123 0	107 62	15 38	
	Yellow Kidar	120 0	105 00	15 00	
	Pale Kidar	124 0	62 00	62 00	
	Late—pale Shāhi	120 0	75 00	45 00	
GUPTAS.			pure	alloy	highest weights
8	Kācha	123	102 5	20 5	118 5
12	Chandra Gupta I.	123	107 6	15 4	123 8
50	Samudra Gupta	123	107 6	15 4	126 0
40	Chandia Gupta II	123	107 6	15 4	126 5
47	Kumara Gupta I.	123	107 6	15 4	126 7
48	Shanda Gupta	124 6	108 4	16 2	129 5
9	Do., pale heavy	140	78 0	67 0	
4	Narasiṅha Gupta	146	73 0	73 0	147 0
2	Kumāra Gupta II.	148	66 5	81 5	150 0
2	Vishnu Gupta	149	66 5	82 5	150 0
3	Saṣāṅgha	146	61 3	84 7	147 0
1	Jaya Gupta	140	28 0	112 0	
	Prakāṣaditya	146	121 7		

The silver coins of the Guptas were copied from the silver money of the Western Satraps for their weight and fabric, and in the king's head on the obverse. On the reverse, however, a peacock was substituted for the Chaitya. The Gupta silver money begins with the coins of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya. There are two different types of the peacock on the reverse. The Western coins of Málwa and Suráshtra show the bird standing to the front with outspread wings, while the northern coins of the Gangetic provinces show the peacock with extended wings and expanded tail. The northern coins also bear dates in the Gupta era, of which I believe the specimen of Chandra Gupta II, in Plate II fig 9, has the date of 80 odd. The weights of the coins vary from 29 to 36 grains, which shows that they, as well as their prototypes, the Satrap coins, were copied from the hemidrachms of the Greek kings of Kabul.

It is specially worthy of notice that on all the silver coins of the Guptas the head of the king invariably faces to the right, while on the silver coins of their foes, the White Hun Toramāna, and the Maukharī Isāna Varma, the head of the king faces to the left. This peculiarity was noted independently by Mr Thomas and myself as probably indicating a different line of rulers. But Mr Vincent Smith⁵ "attaches no importance to the circumstance that the king's head is turned to the left, because," as he says, "the Gupta gold series prove that it was a matter of indifference which way the king's effigy was turned." But he has overlooked the fact that the gold coins of the king shooting a lion with the bow held in the

⁵ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* 1859 p 136

right hand are probably only a blunder of the die-sinker. If not a blunder, then these Gupta kings must have been *ambidextrous* for several generations, as they are also represented shooting with the bow held in the *left* hand. But against this conclusion I may note the fact that, when the Gupta kings are shown with the end of the bow resting on the ground, they *invariably* hold it in the *left* hand.

As an illustration of an artist's blunder, I may cite a case which is within my own experience. An engraver with a photograph of Buddha before him actually copied it without reversing it, and consequently made Buddha appear with his *left* shoulder bare! If any copy of the first engraving should hereafter be found, it may perhaps be quoted as a proof that Buddha was sometimes represented with the *left* shoulder bare.

GUPTAS.

PLATE II			
No	Metal	Gr	
1	N	147	<p>NARA SINHA GUPTA A D 500—530</p> <p>Author, rude execution, and pale metal <i>King standing</i> to left, bow in left hand, right hand extended</p> <p>Under left arm <i>Nara</i> between feet <i>Gu Lakshmi</i> seated on Lotus throne, legend to right, <i>Sri Baladitya</i></p> <p>N B—I give this coin because Mr Vincent Smith thinks that there is "no authority" for reading <i>Gu</i>, which I take to stand for Gupta</p>
2	N	147	<p>KUMARA GUPTA II.</p> <p>Author, rude execution and pale metal <i>King standing</i> to left with bow, under left arm <i>Ku</i></p> <p>Lakshmi seated on Lotus throne, legend, <i>Sri Kramaditya</i></p>

PLATE II

No	Metal	Gra.	
JAYA GUPTA			
3	N	189	Author, rude execution, pale gold King standing to left, with bow in left hand, sun standard to right Under left arm <i>Jaya</i> Lakshmi seated on throne, legend, <i>Sri Pīṭa</i> <i>laya (?)</i>
VISHNU GUPTA.			
4	N	149	Author Pale metal, from Gaya, duplicates in Brit Mus, pale gold King standing to left, under left arm <i>Vishnu</i> Lakshmi seated on throne, legend, <i>Sri Chan</i> <i>draditya</i>
SASANGKA			
5	N	145	Author Gaya, and duplicate from As Soc, Bengal, pale gold Siva seated on Bull, legend below, <i>Jaya</i> Lakshmi seated on throne, legend to right, <i>Sri Sasangka</i>
6	Æ	41	Author, from <i>Abuchhatra</i> <i>Budhas Bowl</i> , surrounded by Buddhist ruling Indian legend [<i>Sri</i>] <i>Maharaja</i> [<i>Ha</i>] <i>ra</i> <i>Gup-</i> <i>tasya</i> The form of the letter <i>h</i> is peculiar to the Guptas
7			Cornelian seal from <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> [Pl I, fig 4, page 51], legend wrongly read by Wilson, rightly by Prinsep <i>Female Bust</i> , with hand holding flower Indian legend, <i>Kesava dusasya</i> = "Slave of <i>Vishnu</i>
8	Æ	87	Author, 0.85 inch, from <i>Abuchhatra</i> The largest copper coin of the Guptas yet found Female bust to left, with flower in right hand. <i>Gurula</i> symbol or standard of the Guptas, legend lost

PLATE II			
No	Metal	Grs	
9	ꣳ	29	<p style="text-align: center;">CHANDRA GUPTA II</p> <p>Author, from Ajudhya, in Oudh <i>Head of King</i> to right, numeral for 80 in front of face <i>Peacock</i> standing to front with outstretched wings Indian legend incomplete, <i>rajadhiraja Sri Chandra Gupta</i></p>
10	ꣳ	36	<p>Author <i>Head of King</i> to right Therefore a Gupta King <i>Peacock</i> with expanded wings and tail Legend in rather rude letters, <i>I jyt avanir avanipati Sri [Sk indo] Gupta deva jayiti</i> Sk indo is Mr Fleet's reading, which I think is very doubtful, as the coin must be of later date</p>
11	ꣳ	38	<p style="text-align: center;">TORAMANA—WHITE HUN</p> <p>British Museum with a duplicate <i>Head of King</i> to left, date in front of face 52 <i>Rude peacock</i> with expanded wings and tail <i>I jyt-avanir avanipati Sri Toramāna deva janta</i></p>
12	ꣳ	35	<p style="text-align: center;">ISĀNA VARMA—MAUKHARI</p> <p>Author, two specimens from Ahichhatra <i>Head of King</i>, facing to left, date in front of face, not read. <i>Peacock</i> with expanded wings and tail Indian legend, <i>I jyt avanir avanipati Sri I ś i a Varma</i></p>

NARWAR

The great fortress of Narwar was one of the State prisons of the Mogul Emperors. It is situated in a bend of the Sindh River, on an isolated hill upwards of four hundred feet in height. It is just fifty miles to the S S W of Gwalior, and the same distance to the W. N W of Jhansi. It derives its name from the famous Raja Nala

who is said to have been its builder. But as *nala*, "water lily," is often used as a synonym for *Padma*, or "the lotus," I think that *Nalapura* is only another name for *Padmāvati*, which, as I shall presently show, was certainly an old name of the present city.

As I obtained all my principal coins of the Nagas at Narwar, I have identified their capital of *Padmāvati* with that famous fortress. My account was published in 1865,⁶ and as I have nothing to add to my description I will quote my original statements.

"In the *Vishnu Purana* it is stated that 'the Nine Nāgas will reign in *Padmavati*, *Kantipuri*, and *Mathurâ*, and the Guptas of *Magadha* along the *Ganges* to *Prayâga*.' This statement is corroborated by the *Vayu Purana*, which however, gives a second dynasty of Nāgas. 'The Nine Naka Kings will possess the city *Champāvati*, and the seven Nakas the pleasant city *Mathura*.' Princes of the Gupta race will possess all these countries, the banks of the *Ganges* to *Prayâga*, *Siketa*, and *Magadha*.'⁷

Padmāvati was at first identified by H. H. Wilson with some unknown city in *Berar*, far to the south of the *Narbadâ* and afterwards with *Bhâgalpur* on the *Ganges*, but the mention of *Mathura* utterly precludes the possibility of either of those places having belonged to the Nine Nāgas. Both cities should no doubt be looked for within some moderate distance of *Mathurâ*. The scene of *Bhavabhuti's Mâlati and Madhava* is laid in the city of *Padmāvati* in the *Vindhyan* mountains. H. H. Wilson —

⁶ How wide the prospect spreads—mountain and rock,
 Towns, villages, and woods and glittering streams—
 There where the *Pir* and the *Sindhu* wind,

⁷ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*
 H. H. Wilson's *Vishnu Purana* p. 479

The towers and temples, pinnacles and gates,
 And spires of *Padmavati*, like a city
 Precipitated from the skies, appear
 Inverted in the pure translucent wave ' .

Here the *Sindhu* River is clearly the *Sindh*, on which Narwar is situated, and the *Pârâ* River is the *Parvati* or *Puru*, which flows only five miles to the north of the *Sindh*. The subsequent mention of the *Madhumati* and the *Lavana* as streams in the neighbourhood of the city, further confirms the identification, as the first must be the *Mohuti* or *Madhuca* on the south, and the other the *Lun* or *Nun* to the north. Bhavabhuti further places the "holy shrine of *Sicarna Vindu*" near the frontier of the *Madhumati* and *Sindhu*, which may be identified with *Suhenda*, or *Sona-bindu* = *Sonenda*, which is close by.

The identification of Narwar with *Padmâvati* is supported by the mention on the Allahabad Pillar of *Ganapati-Nâga* among the Rajas tributary to Samudra Gupta. We know from extracts already given from the *Puranas* that the Nagas were contemporary with the Guptas, which is further proved by the similarity of their copper coins, which are mostly small pieces of 36, 18, and 9 grains. As contemporaries of the Guptas the Nine Nâgas must have reigned during the fourth and fifth centuries A D.

As *Kântipura* and *Mathura* are included within their rule, their dominions probably extended over *Bharatpur*, *Dholpur*, *Gwalior*, and part of *Bundelkhand*. This was the country of *Raja Nala*. I feel inclined, therefore, to identify the Nâgas with some of the early *Kachwâha* Rajas of *Gwalior* and *Narwar*, amongst whom I find the names of *Bhîma*, *Vyâghra*, *Vasumitra*, and *Ganapati*. The later *Kachwâhas*, who claimed descent from *Raja Nala*, were certainly in possession of both places, as the nam-

of the last of them, Dulha Deva, who founded the Kachwâha dynasty of Amber (Jaypur) is still attached to one part of the Fort of Narwar. He is recorded in the Jaypur chronicles to have been expelled from Gwalior and Narwar, and at Narwar itself he is said to have escaped from that part of the fort which still bears his name. (See James Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, quoting Tod's *Rajasthan*.)

THE NINE NAGAS OF NARWAR

PLATE II.			
No.	Metal	Gra.	
13	Æ	50	<p>ΚΕΑ ++</p> <p>Author, from Narwar, unique Peacock standing to right Two upright strokes, one with side piece, Indian legend incomplete, <i>Kha</i></p>
14	Æ	36	<p>VA ++</p> <p>Author, from Narwar, unique Peacock standing to right Two upright strokes, as on No 13 Indian legend incomplete, <i>la</i></p>
15	Æ	31 1	<p>BIHMA NĀGA.</p> <p>Author, from Narwar, 5 specimens Peacock standing to left Horizontal line like a spear head Indian legend in two horizontal lines <i>Maharaja Bhuma Naja</i></p>
16	Æ	34	<p>SKANDA NĀGA</p> <p>Author, from Narwar, 12 specimens Peacock standing to right. Two daggers, or short spears Indian legend, <i>Maharaja Skanda Nagasya</i></p>
17	Æ	50 1	<p>Author, from Narwar Recumbent humped Bull, in a circle of pellets Two daggers Indian legend <i>Valâtr j: Skanda Naja</i></p>

PLATE II

BRIHASPATI NĀGA

- | No. | Metal | Gr. | |
|-----|-------|------|--|
| 18 | Æ | 18.8 | Author, from Narwar, 31 specimens
Recumbent humped Bull Indian legend,
<i>Mahârāja Brihaspati Vaja</i> |

GANAPATI NĀGA

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 19 | Æ | 36 | Author, from Narwar, Gobad, Doab Very
common, of 3 sizes, representing $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>kāṅkīs</i> ,
36 grains, half <i>kāṅkīs</i> , 18 grains,
quarter <i>kāṅkīs</i> 9 grains and 7 grains
Humped Bull walking to left
Indian legend, <i>Maharaja Sri Ganapatya</i> |
|----|---|----|---|

N B — The name on different coins varies both in form and spelling. On some it is written both *Ganendra* and *Ganentra*. The coins are extremely common, as I have seen several thousands of them.

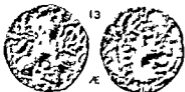
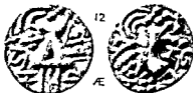
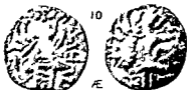
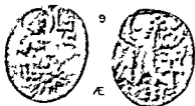
- | | | | |
|----|---|----|--|
| 20 | Æ | 17 | Author. Humped Bull, and legend <i>Maharaja Sri Ganendra</i> . |
| 21 | Æ | 8 | Author, same type and same legend. |

VYĀGHRA [NĀGA]

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 22 | Æ | 18 | Author Half <i>Kāṅkīs</i> , very rare, square
Wheel surrounded by circle of pellets
<i>Rev</i> — <i>Vyāghra</i> . |
|----|---|----|---|

DEVA NĀGA.

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| 23 | Æ | 36 | Author <i>Kāṅkī</i>
Humped Bull walking to right, circle of
pellets
<i>Trisul of Siva</i> . Indian legend, <i>Mahārāja Sri Deva Nāgasya</i> |
| 24 | Æ | 26 | Author <i>Kāṅkī</i> , 18 <i>Kāṅkīs</i> and 2 half
<i>Kāṅkīs</i>
Wheel, in circle of pellets
<i>Rev</i> — Indian legend, <i>Mahārāja Sri Deva Nāgasya</i> |
| 25 | Æ | 17 | Author Half <i>Kāṅkī</i> unique
<i>Trisul of Siva</i> in circle of pellets
<i>Rev</i> — Indian legend as on last |





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III—HINDU COINAGE OF KASHMIR

The Hindu Kingdom of Kashmir, even in its most palmy days, never extended beyond the limits of the Alpine Panjab. In the seventh century, when the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang visited the valley, all the hilly country between the Indus and the Jhelam Rivers belonged to Kashmir, and this extension of the kingdom is well marked by the still existing temples at Amb, Mallot, Ketâs, and Bâghanwâla in the Salt Range, which are all in the Kashmirian style of architecture. The influence of Kashmir was of course felt more or less by all the smaller hill states. The submission of the two southern states Purnuch (or Purnots) and Rajaori (or Rajapuri) was the most permanent, but that of the more distant states of Champa (or Champapuri) and Trigarta (or Kangra) was little more than nominal at any time. I have, indeed, a very strong suspicion that the extension of the kingdom in the seventh century was due rather to the conquest of the valley of Kashmir itself, by the rulers of the ancient province of Taxila, than to the annexation of Taxila by Kashmir. The native chronicles speak of successful expeditions to Nepal, Mâlwa, and Southern India, and even to Ceylon. But the last was probably only the quibbling result of some vain boast that kept the word of promise to the ear by referring to a small island in the Lake of Kashmir, which still bears the name of Lankâ (or Ceylon). Lake Bengal, Kashmir was never a conquering power. As Maharaja Gulab Singh replied to me when I asked him whether he had any Kashmiris in his army, "*Kuchh kâm kâ râlhu*," "They are useless."

Of the early history of Kashmir little is known beyond the bare facts that the valley in the third century B.C.

formed part of the great empire of Asoka, and that in the early centuries A D, it belonged to the wide dominions of the Kushân Indo-Scythians, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsu Deva. Intermediately it must certainly have been tributary to the Indo-Greek Princes Menander and his successors, although there is no allusion to them in the native chronicles. In the beginning of the sixth century, when the power of the Little Kushâns was overthrown by the White Huns, the valley was seized by the powerful Ephthalite Prince Mihirkul, and his coins are amongst the earliest specimens of Kashmir money. I possess also one coin of *Khingila*, or Narendrâditya, one of the recorded successors of Mihirkul. The type of his coin is the same as that of Mihirkul, while his name of *Khingila* betrays his foreign origin, his other name of *Narendrâditya* being only his Indian title, or perhaps a translation of his Scythian name. All these coins are described in my account of the White Huns, which will be published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

In the beginning of the seventh century the throne of Kashmir fell to Durlabha, whose reputed father was a *Naga* or serpent. He founded the dynasty which was called the *Kakotala*, or *Nâga ramsi*, and with him begins the first regular series of Kashmirian coins. In A D 713 his grandson, *Chandra-pira* (*Chu-to lo pi-li*), applied to the Emperor of China for aid against the Arabs,⁸ whose army in that very year, under Muhammad Kâsim, after the conquest of Sindh, had advanced to the foot of the Kashmir hills. Durlabha himself is, I believe, also mentioned by the Chinese⁹ under the name of *Chu lo pa*, as an Indian

⁸ Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques* 1, 197

⁹ *Ibid* 1, 212

king who, between A D 627 and 645, was required to aid the envoys from *Kipin*, or Arakhosia, on their way back from China. This statement shows that Kashmir was then one of the acknowledged routes between India and China.

The earliest coins that can be assigned with certainty to a Kashmirian king are of several different types, all of which bear the well known name of Mihirkul, the great Ephthalite conqueror. His silver pieces are copied from the thin Sassanian coinage of middle age. On the obverse is the king's head with the *trisul* of Siva behind the royal standard, surmounted by Siva's Bull in front of the face. The legend in Indian letters is *Jayatu-Mihira-kula*. A second silver coin of similar type has the legend, *Jayatu Vrisha dhucaya*, "May the Bull standard be victorious." These silver coins are extremely rare. The small copper coins are of a similar kind. On the obverse is the king's head with the Indian legend, *Sri Mihira-kula*, and on the reverse a humped bull, with the Indian legend, *Jayatu Vrisha*, "May the Bull be victorious." The larger copper coins are of the Kushân type, with the standing king and the seated goddess. On these coins there are two different legends, both being in Indian characters. The one is *Jayatu Mihira-kula*, and the other is *Shahi Mihira-gula*. The former, I conclude, was struck in Kashmir, the latter either in *Gandhara* or in *Taxila*. A third class of copper coins is of still larger size, with a horseman on the obverse, and the Indian legend *Mihira-kula*, sometimes written in the wrong direction from right to left.

The next class of coins includes the names of *Toramana* and his son *Prajarasena* both of whom belonged to the recorded members of the royal family of Kashmir. On all these coins there is the additional name of *Kidâna*, written perpendicularly, from which I infer that they were

of the tribe of Little Kushâns, the descendants of *Kidâra*. This inference is strengthened by the fact that I possess three silver coins of a king with the legend *Kidâra Kushana Shah*, "Kidâra, King of the Kushâns." These are described in my account of the "Coins of the Little Kushâns," recently published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

The kingdom of the *Little Yuets*, or *Little Kushans*, was established at *Fu leu-sha* (*Purusha*, or *Peshâwur*) by *Ki to-lo*, or *Kidara*, King of the Kushans or *Great Yue ti*. Being recalled to protect his own dominions against the White Huns, he left his son behind in Gandhâra, who thus became the King of the Little Kushâns. Five districts to the north of Gandhâra belonged to him.¹⁰ These would have included *Udyâna* and *Bayâcar* to the west of the Indus, and *Darvâbbisâra* to the east of the river. This settlement must have taken place shortly after the permanent occupation of the valley of the Oxus by the White Huns, about the middle of the fifth century A D. In 520 A D, the Chinese pilgrim *Sung Yun* found the I phthalite King of Gandhâra at war with *Kipin* (*Ara-khosia*), and discontented with the small extent of his territory. To the descendants of *Kidâra*, therefore, I would ascribe the conquest of Kashmir, which the Gakkars now claim for their King *Kid*, or *Kaul*. This would account satisfactorily for the occurrence of the name of *Kidara* on so many of the coins of Kashmir and the North-Western Panjâb before the accession of the *Karkotaka* or *Nâga* dynasty under *Durlabha* in A D 625.

The name of *Kitolô* is still preserved in these western

¹⁰ Remusat, *Nouvelles Mémoires Asiatiques*, 1, 221. See also *Les Huns Blancs*, 1^{er} liv. de St Martin p. 11.

countries by the rulers of Chitrâl and Gilgit, who proudly style themselves *Shah Kitor*,

The coins of the Karkotaka or Nâga dynasty are of very bold but rude workmanship. They are apparently intended for gold *dinars*, but the gold is always more or less alloyed with silver. The alloy is sometimes so much as to make it difficult to say whether the pieces contain any gold at all. There are also specimens in copper of the same types, but most of these appear to me to be simple forgeries that have been originally gilt. There were, however, *copper dinars*, as it is recorded that the Raja *Jayapira* (A D 760—780) having found a copper mine, struck one hundred *lotis*, less one, of *dinars* in his own name. It is also said that he gave to an eminent Pandit named Bhatta, an allowance of one *lakh* (100,000) *dinars* duly¹¹. As these coins weigh 120 and 121 grains, they are the direct descendants of the gold *dinars* of the Kushân Princes Kanishka and Huvishka in weight as well as in type, although the type is miserably degraded.

The next dynasty of Kashmir princes was founded by *Aranti-Varma* in A D 855. From this time the dates have been carefully registered in the Raja *Tarangini*, or Sanskrit Chronicles of Kashmir, and the succession of princes is very completely illustrated by their coins. The same types, also, which had been originally adopted from the Indo-Scythian money, were continued down to the end. The only difference, in fact, is the more complete

¹¹ *Raja Tarangini* iv, sl 616. He struck one thousand millions, less one, of *dinars* of copper. The daily allowance of one *lakh* (100,000) of *dinars* to the "excellent Bhatta" must certainly have been in this copper currency.—*Raja Tarangini*, iv, sl 495.

degradation of the figures of both the Raja and the Goddess, which are only recognisable by tracing them back to their originals. Thus the same types had actually remained in use for upwards of one thousand years.

Gopāla Varma, the second king of the Varma dynasty, was a conqueror, and he added the district of Gujarat to the Kashmir dominions. Both his father *Atanti Varma* and himself were builders of temples. His father built the grand temples at Avantipura, which still exist in ruins, and in his own reign the massive temples at Pathan were erected by his queen Sugandha Rani¹². All these temples have been described in my account of the Temples of Kashmir published in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* for 1848.

MONETARY SYSTEM OF KASHMIR

Upwards of fifty years ago I wrote an account of the Coinage of Kashmir, published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1843. I then made known the coins of seventeen different Hindu princes which I had obtained in the valley in 1839. But the lapse of time has gradually increased my collection, and I am now able to bring forward the coins of no less than thirty-eight different Hindu kings of Kashmir, who reigned from the sixth to the thirteenth century, A D. Some of these coins are now exceedingly common, but others are very rare, and a few are still unique. Most of the known coins are of copper, but the existence of a few specimens, both of gold and of silver, proves that there must have been a coinage of both of these metals, and gives a hope that more specimens may

¹² *Raja Tarangini*, v, 157

yet be found Gold coins named *Rupaka*¹³ are mentioned in the reign of Yasaskara, A D 940, but their value is not known The dictionaries say that the Rupaka was one-seventieth of a Suvarna, which seems an almost impossible subdivision As the Suvarna was a coin of about 144 grams, the Rupaka would have been a small piece of only 2.057 grams, which seems too small for any real coin Both gold and silver coins are spoken of in the reign of Harsha Deva, A D 1090, as the chief money of commerce, while the copper coin was but little used I have specimens of the gold coins of different types, weighing 73 and 72 grams, and one of silver weighing 23.5 grams

The only account of the monetary system of Kashmir that I have met with is a short notice by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-Akbari* The following is his description of the coins in use in the time of Akbar —

2 Barahams, or "Twelvers"	= 1 Panchi or 'Twenty fiver, or Kasirah
4 Panchis, ¹⁴ or "Twenty fivers"	= 1 Hât, or 'Hundrededer,' or Rahat
10 Hâts, or "Hundreders"	= 1 Sasnu, or "Thousand"
1½ Sasnu	= 1 Rab-sasnu or Rop-sasnu, or Sikkah

The *Panchi* was also known by the name of *Kasira*, that is, the "brass or copper coin"

The *Hât* was equal to 1 *Dam* of Akbar, or $\frac{1}{100}$ th of a rupee

The *Sasnu* was equal to 10 *Dams*, or $\frac{1}{10}$ rupee

The values and weights of the different coins are easily deducible from Abul Fazl's account, thus —

The *Panchi* or *Kasira*, which was equal to $\frac{1}{100}$ *dâm*,

¹³ In the *Ain Akbari*, Jarrott, II, 354, the rop sasnu is said to be a silver coin

¹⁴ *Panchku*

according to this account, must have weighed about 80 grains, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of 320 grains. But the greater number of my copper coins range from 85 to 95 grains each, the average of 30 good specimens of 30 different kings being 91 grains, while two half coins, or *Bāhānus* of Kshema Gupta, weigh 45 grains each. The copper coins of the Muhammadan kings are somewhat lighter, the average being only 83 grains.

Of the Hindu silver coins very few specimens have come down to us. I possess only one specimen of Raja Harsha Deva, which weighs 23.5 grains. As this would be equal to only one-eighth of a rupee, or 5 *dāms*, its value must have been 5 *hāts* of Kashmir, or one half *sasnu*. But my Muhammadan silver coins, of which I have weighed 28 specimens, give an average of 94 grains, which I take to represent a double *sāsnu*, or 4 half *sāsnu*. The SILVER coinage must therefore have been as follows —

$\frac{1}{2}$ Sasnu	= 5 Hats = 22.4 grs = 1 Kona or $\frac{1}{4}$ Karsha
1 Sasnu	= 10 Hats = 44.8 grs = 1 Karsha [punch marked]
1 Rab Sasnu	= 15 Hats = 67.2 grs = 1 Drachma [Greek]
2 Sasnus	= 20 Hats = 89.6 grs = 2 Karshas

For *Rab sasnu* the Kashmirian Pandits now read *Rop-sasnu*, or the "silver *sasnu*," as Abul Fazl, in the *Ain-ul-Bari* says it was a silver coin of 9 *mashas*. As the *masha* of silver was only 2 *ratis* (or *surlhs*) in weight, the *Rop sasnu* of 9 *mashas* would have been $1.82 \times 2 \times 9 = 32.76$ grains in weight. But I presume that the *masha* of 5 or 6 *ratis* (or *surlhs*) is intended, and if so, the weight would be $1.82 \times 6 = 10.92$ grains for the *masha*, or $1.82 \times 5 = 9.10$ grains. In this case, the weight of the *Rop-sasnu* would be either 98.28 grains or 51.9 grains. But the true weight of the coin can readily be calculated

from its value of 15 *hats*, or 15 *dāms*, that is $\frac{1}{6}$ of a rupee. Taking the rupee at $179\frac{1}{3}$ grains of pure silver, the *Rop sasnu* would be $\frac{179\frac{1}{3}}{40} \times 15 = 67.25$ grains, or exactly equal to the Greek drachma. My silver coin of Harsha Deva (Pl V fig 23), of 23.5 grains, is therefore one third of a *Rop sasnu*, or 22.4 grains. It was therefore a half *sāsnu*. And these three—the half *sasnu*, the *sīsnu*, and the *Rop sasnu*—must have formed the silver coinage of Kashmir.

The large silver coin of Pravarasena (Pl III fig 4), which weighs 120 grains, would therefore have been a piece of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *sāsnu*s, or 25 *hāts*.

In connection with these coins I should expect to find a gold piece of 25 *sāsnu*s. This should be 44.8 grains $\times 25 = 1120$, which, as 8 *ratīs* of silver = 1 of gold, gives a gold piece of 140 grains, that is, the Indian *sūvarna*. No piece of this size has yet been found, but my two gold coins of Harsha Deva, which weigh 73 and 72 grains, must be *half sūvarnas*.

The money of Kashmir, as described in the following pages, consisted of the following denominations, the names of the existing coins being distinguished by capital letters.

GOLD — *Sūvarnas*, and HALF SUVARNAS

SILVER — *Pop-Sasnu*, *Sīsnus*, and HALF SASNUS

COPPER — PANCHIS or KASIRAS and HALF PANCHIS

I have found nothing to indicate the value of the *white metal* coins that were issued by Didda Rāni, Saṅgrāma, Ananta, and Kalasa, from A.D. 980 to 1050 (Pl V fig 20). They are clearly a distinct coinage, better than copper, and less valuable than silver. I conjecture that they may have been intended for *lāts*,

each equal to 5 *panchus* or copper coins. They would thus have taken the place of silver, and would account for the scarcity of silver coins in the Kashmir series

Several kinds of coins are mentioned in the Kashmir history. The earliest are the copper *dinars* of Toramāna. As the younger brother of the reigning king Hiranja, he presumed to call in all the former money called *Bala-hat*, and to strike *dinārs* in his own name¹⁵ *Hat* means "struck," and is therefore used for coin in general, but as *hat* was the special name of a particular coin or "the hundreder" in Kashmir, I believe that the old coins here referred to were the Indo-Scythian copper money which had continued in use down to that time. Their weight is the same as that of the common Indo-Scythian coins, such as those of Hiranyakula, Mihirakula, Gokarna, and others.

In the reign of Raja Ananta mention is made of a jewelled "lingam" which his queen sold for 70 *lakhs* of *takkas*. As *tangha*, or *takka*, was the common name for a copper coin, I have little doubt that the pieces here referred to are the well-known copper *panchus*, or $\frac{1}{4}$ *hats*, of Ananta Raja, each equal to $\frac{1}{16}$ of a rupee. The whole amount would therefore be not much over £40,000. It is possible, however, that the *white metal* pieces of Ananta may have been called *tankas*.

In the reign of Harsha Deva his gold coins were copied from those of Karnāta in South India. They were called *Utkosha*, which means simply "fine gold"¹⁶

¹⁵ *Raja Tarangini*, iii, 108

¹⁶ *Ibid*, v. [The reference is incomplete in the manuscript, and I have been unable to supply it. There is probably some mistake here. I have been unable to find the word *Utkosha* either in the *Rajatarangini* or in any of the dictionaries — E. J. R.]

But the fact of the coins being made in imitation of those of Karnâta is fully corroborated by the coins of that country. Sir Walter Elliot has referred these coins to Konga-desa, or Coimbatore, but the curious fact just quoted proves that they must belong to *Karnâta*, or the Carnatic.

The unit of the Kashmir money account was the *KĀNI* of 2 *surkhs* or *ratis*, $1.82 \text{ grains} \times 2 = 3.64 \text{ grains}$. Twelve and a half *lānis* made one *Bārah-kāni*, or "twelver"; twenty-five *lānis* made a *panchi*, or "twenty-fiver"; and one hundred *lānis* made a *hāt*, or "hundreder." In Kashmir and the Punjāb the Sanskrit *sat* = 100 is pronounced *hat*. Hence the name of the coin. The *panchi* was a copper coin, equal in value to one quarter of a *dām* of Akbar's money. It was also called *kasira*, or "the copper." The *hat* was equal to 1 *dām*. The *sāsnu* was equal to 10 *hats*, from *sahasra*, or "one thousand" contracted to *sās*.

	Surkh or Ratī.	KĀNI	Shakrī	BĀRAHKĀNI.	PANCHI.	ILĀT.	‡ SĀNU.	SĀSNU.	ROP-SĀSNU.	DOUBLE SĀSNU	Grains.
COPPER.	1	1									1.82
	12	3½	1								8.64
		12½	4	1							11.20
		25	8	2	1						45.50
		100	32	8	4	1					91.00
SILVER.											864
					20	5	1				22.4
					40	10	2	1			44.8
					60	15	3	1½	1		67.2
					80	20	4	2	1½	1	89.6

COIN TYPES

The constant type of the Kashmir coinage the standing Raja and the sitting Goddess was adopted from the money of the Indo Scythian Kushân kings, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasu Deva. It was the common type also of the great Gupta dynasty of India from its adoption by Samudra Gupta in the middle of the fourth century A D. On the earliest certain specimens of the Kashmir kings—the coins of Mihirkul, Hiranvakul, Gokarna, and others,—the king is represented as standing to the front with his face turned towards the left. His left hand holds a spear upright, and his right hand is stretched out over a small object which is supposed to be an altar. On the reverse there is a seated goddess, named *Ardoksho* on the Indo Scythian coins, who holds a cornucopæ in her left hand, and a roval fillet or diadem in her right hand. On these coins *Ardoksho* represents the “earth goddess.” On the Hindu coins of the Guptas she becomes gradually identified with the goddess *Lakshmi*, holding a lotus in her left hand instead of a cornucopæ. On the coins of Toramâna and his son Pravarasena the cornucopæ is replaced by the lotus, but on the later coins the arms of the goddess are gradually displaced by the letters of the inscription. At first the left arm is omitted, as on the coins of Sankara Varma and Gopal Varma, but on the later coins the right arm gives place to the title of *Si*, which precedes most of the names. But the types rapidly become more and more degraded until it is difficult to trace them back to their originals.

The only new types in the Kashmir series were those introduced by Harsha Deva for his gold and silver coins. The “elephant” type, which he used for both metals [Pl V, figs 22, 23], was copied from the coins of Karnata,

and the "Horseman" type [Pl V, fig 21] was imitated from the money of the Brâhmanî kings of Kabul [see Pl VII — Gandâra]

The standard coin type of Kashmir thus remained unchanged from the type of Kanishka in A D 78, down to the Muhammadan conquest in A D 1339, or for 1261 years. Of course the types became so very much degraded that it is difficult to say which figure is intended for the standing king and which for the sitting goddess on the coins of Jaga Deva and Raja Deva of the thirteenth century. The Kashmir coinage therefore offers an almost unique example of a coin type remaining unchanged for upwards of twelve centuries.

CHRONOLOGY

The following lists of the kings of Kashmir are taken from the *Raja Tarangini*, a Sanskrit history begun by Kalhana Pandita, and continued by other writers down to the Muhammadan conquest. All the early part is little better than a mere list of names, amongst which we find *Asoka*, and the Indo Scythian princes *Hushka*, *Jushka*, and *Kanishka*. Still later there is mention of *Mihvalul*, who conquered the country. But he was certainly the great king of the White Huns who overran the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the sixth century A D. He was therefore the paramount sovereign under whom the Raja of Kashmir was only a tributary prince.

The real history of the Kashmir kings begins with the Yuva Raja *Toramana* and his son *Pratarasena*, of both of whom we have coins. Shortly after them comes *Dulabha*, the founder of the *Naga* dynasty, of whom also we have coins, as well as of many of his successors. The actual dates begin with the death of *Vrihaspati* of the *Naga* dynasty in the year 89 of the *Lok Lal*, or A D 813. The

lengths of reigns only are given of the earlier dynasties, and all the previous chronology is simply absurd. For instance, the names of paramount sovereigns of the Kushâns and White Huns are mixed up with those of the tributary rulers of Kashmir. Thus Meghavâhan, the grandson of Yudhishtira, is said to have been protected by Gopâditya, King of Gandhâra, but the interval between Gopâditya and Meghavâhan consists of three reigns covering 130 years, besides a whole separate dynasty of 192 years, making altogether 222 years! Then again Gopâditya is placed 300 years after Mihirkul, making the period between Mihirkul and Meghavâhan upwards of 500 years, whereas we know that Mihirkul reigned about 515 to 540 A D, while Pravarasena, the grandson of Meghavâhan, could not have been later than fifty years after him.

The chronology of the Nâga dynasty in the early reigns, as given in the *Raja Tarangin*, is certainly wrong by about thirty years, as shown by some dates recorded in the Chinese annals of which the three following dates are examples

I *Chandrapu*, the grandson of the founder, is placed in A D 696—699. According to the Chinese, the Raja of Kashmir, named *Chin to-lo pu li*, applied to the Emperor of China in A D 713 for aid against the Arabs—and, II his successor, his younger brother *Mu to pu li* [or *Mul ta-pira*] was on the throne in A D 720¹⁷

III Another notice by the Chinese seems to refer to *Dus labha* himself. Between the years A D 627—649, the King of India, named *Tu lo pa*, was charged to have the envoys from Kipin safely conducted to their own country¹⁸

¹⁷ Remusat, *Nouvelles Melanges Asiatiques* 1, 197

¹⁸ *Ibid* 1, 212

As Kashmir lay in the route to Kipin I conclude that *Tu-lo-pa* must be Durlabha.

Guided by these three dates I propose to correct Durlabha's accession by thirty-one years, or from A.D. 594, to A.D. 625. I select this date as it is the first year of the centenary cycle of the Lok-kâl, which came into use in Kashmir during the reign of the Nâga dynasty. I place the accession of Chandrapîra in A.D. 711, and his application to China for aid in 713, when Muhammad Kâsim was in the Northern Panjab.

The following lists of Rajas are taken from the *Raja Taranginî*, beginning with Meghavâhan, the grandfather of Toramâna and Pravarasena—whose dates are only approximate, although they cannot be far from the truth. This family must have belonged to the Little Kushâns, as their coins bear the name of *Kidûra*, i. e. *Ki-tol*, the founder of the Little Yue-ti. There are ten names in the list, to which I have added the years of each king as recorded in the *Raja Taranginî*, together with the probable dates of some of them according to my judgment.

Probable date. A. D.		Reign Years.	
480	Meghavahan	31	
500	Sreshtasena	30	
520	{ Hiranya	30	} brothers.
	{ Toramâna		
	Matrigupta, a Brahman	4	
540	Pravarasena	60	
560	Yudhishtira	21	
580	{ Narendraditya	13	} brothers.
	{ Ranâditya	300 (<i>sic</i>)	
600	{ Vikramaditya	42	} brothers.
	{ Baladitya	37	

NĀGA DYNASTY

Reigns	Probable Accession.	NAMES	Generations	TITLES	Years reign	A D
1	A D 625	Durlabha	I		36	605
2	681	Pratapaditya I	II		50	641
3	711	Chandrapira	III	{ Lalitaditya Pratapaditya II }	8	691
4	—	Tarapira			4	699
5	719	Muktapira	IV	Vappiyaka	36 ⁹	703
6	745	Kuvalayapira			1	739
7	746	Vajraditya			7	740
8	753	Prithivapira			4	747
9	—	Sangramapira	V	[only seven days] Vinayaditya	—	—
10	757	Jayapira [Jajja]			31	751
11	782	Lalitapira	VI	Prithivapira Jayapira	12	782
12	791	Sangramapira			7	791
13	801	Vrihaspati			12	801
14	813	Ajitapira	VII	Lok kal	8J =	813
15	819	Anangapira				
16	852	Utpalapira	VIII			852
	855				31	855

¹⁰ The Calcutta edition has 26 years. The *Raja Tarangini* iv 134 says that Lalitaditya obtained the name of Pratapaditya. The probable dates in this list have been derived from the corrections rendered necessary by the statements of the Chinese annals regarding *Chandrapira* and *Muktapira* which place these kings in A D 713 and 720.

The period between Muktapira's death in 745 and Vrihaspati's death in A D 813 is only 68 whereas by the lengths of the intervening reigns it is made 74 years. I have accordingly reduced Jayapira's reign to 25 years tentatively to make the chronology agree with the dates.

The 16 names cover 230 years [from A D 625 to 855] or 8 generations giving 14 years to a reign and 28 years to a generation.

VARMA DYNASTY

	Accession		NAMES	
	Lok kal	A D		
1	81	855	Avanti Varma	Aditya Varma
2	59	883	Sankara Varma	
3	77	901	Gopala Varma	
4	79	903	Sankata V	
5	79	903	Sugandha Rani	
6	89	905	Partha Varma	
7	97	921	Nirjita Varma	
8	98	922	Chakra Varma	
9	9	933	Sura Varma I	
		934	Partha Varma	
	11	931	Chakra Varma	
10	11	935	Sankara Vardhana	
		986	Chakra V.	
11	13	937	Unmattivanti	
12	15	939	Sura Varma II	

MIXED DYNASTIES

1	15	939	Yasaskara	Yaskara
2	21	948	Sangrama Deva	
3	21	949	Parva Gupta	
4	21	950	Kshema Gupta	
5	34	958	Abhimanyu Gupta	
6	48	972	Nandi Gupta	
7	49	978	Tribhuvana Gupta	
8	51	971	Ishima Gupta	
9	56	979	Didda Rani	
10	81	1005	Sangrama Deva	
11	4	1028	Hari Raja	
12	4	1028	Ananta Deva	
13	57	1081	Kalasa	
14	65	1089	Harsha	
15	77	1101	Uchchala	
16	87	1111	Salhana	
17	88	1112	Sussala	
18	95	1120	Bhikshacharya	

MIXED DYNASTIES—continued

	Accession		NAMES
	Lok kal.	A.D.	
19	8	1127	Jaya Sinha Deva I
20	6	1130	Mallarjuna
21	8	1132	Jaya Sinha Deva II
22		1155	Paramanak
23		1164	Avanti Deva
24		1171	Bhopya Deva
25		1180	Jassa Deva
26		1198	Jaga Deva
27		1214	Raja Deva I
28		1236	Sangrama Deva
29		1254	Raja Deva II
30		1256	Lakshmana Deva
31		1269	Kajala
32		1287	Sinha Deva
33		1301	Rinchana
34		1320	Udyana Deva
35	99	1323	Kota Rani
		1339	Muhammadan Conquest

COINS OF KASHMIR

PLATE III.			TORAMANA
No	Metal	Grns	
1	Æ	101	Author Duplicate Brit. Mus., very rare <i>King standing to left as on Indo-Scythian coins, Sri Turyamana</i> <i>Lakshmi seated, with lotus in left hand [Ki] dara written perpendicularly to left</i>
2	Æ	113	<i>King standing as on No 1 Nimbus round head, Sri Toramana, common</i> <i>Lakshmi seated holding lotus in left hand, and right-hand raised Kidara written upright to left, on some coins a lion's head below</i>

PLATE III

PRAVARASENA

No	Metal	Grs	
3	N		Lady Clive Bayley, a well preserved coin <i>Raja standing to front, left hand on hip, right hand raised, two figures seated below, on right and left, Sri Pravarasena</i> <i>Lakshmi seated on Lion, lotus in left hand vase of flowers to left Legend written perpendicularly on left, Kidara</i>
4	R	120	British Museum, 0.95 inch. <i>Lakshmi seated, lotus in left hand, to right, Sri Pravarasena</i> <i>King standing to left holding sceptre with crescent head in left hand, right hand extended, trisul above hand, to right Sena under left arm, Kidara to left below, ratna (?)</i>

NARENDRADITYA

5	N	115	Author, from Kuram valley, 2 specimens, very rude <i>Rude figure of female seated, to right, Sri Narendra</i> <i>Rude figure of Raja standing, under arm, Kida[ra]</i>
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GOKARNA

6	Æ	107	Author, unique <i>Very rude figure of female seated, to right, Sri Gokarna</i> <i>Very rude figure of Raja standing, under arm, Kida[ra]</i>
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NAGA DYNASTY

DURLABHA, A D 625

7	N	122	Author Rude coin, apparently all the specimens are cast <i>Rude figure of Lakshmi seated Sri Durlabha and to left, Deva</i> <i>Rude figure of Raja standing, Jaya[ti] and Kilara</i>
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PLATE III			VIGRAHA [? VAJRA] A D 650
No	Metal	Gra.	
8	N	113	Author, very common Types same as No 7 Obv — <i>Sri Vighraha</i> , two letters to left not read Rev — <i>hida[ra]</i> , double struck
PRATĀPADITYA I, A D 661			
9	Æ	101	Author early type unique Obv — Goddess seated <i>Sri Pratapa</i> Rev — Raja standing, <i>hida</i> under arm
PRATĀPADITYA II, A D 719			
10	Æ	93	Author, common type Obv — Goddess and <i>Sri Pratapa</i> Rev — Raja and <i>hida</i> under arm
YASOVARMA, A D 730 ²⁹			
11	N	112	Author, common, Manikyala Stupa Goddess, very rude, <i>Sri Yasu Varma</i> Raja, very rude, <i>hida</i> under arm.
NAMBI OR NAMVI (?)			
12	Æ	110	Author, rare Types as preceding coins Obv — <i>Nambi</i> with <i>Hal</i> a to left Rev — <i>Jaya [De]ia</i>
JAYA [? JAYAPIRA] A D 757			
13	Æ	118	Author, unique Types as preceding coins Obv — <i>Sri Jaya</i>

PLATE III

JAYAPIRA OF VINAYĀDITYA, A.D. 757.

No.	Metal	Grs
14	Æ	120

Author, very common.
Seated Goddess ; Sri Vinayaditya.
 Standing Raja, *Jayati*, and *Kid[ara]* perpen-
 dicularly

VARMA DYNASTY.

PLATE IV.		NAMES	OBVERSE	REVERSE
No	Metal		Seated Goddess	Standing Raja.
1	Æ	Aditya Varma	<i>Adi . . .</i>	<i>. . . nista</i>
2	Æ	Sangkara Varma	<i>Sangkara</i>	<i>Varma</i>
3	Æ	Gopāla Varma	<i>Gopāla</i>	<i>Varma</i>
4	Æ	Sugandha Rāni	<i>Sri Sugandhā</i>	<i>Devya</i>
5	Æ	Pārtha Varma	<i>Pārtha</i>	<i>Varma</i>
6	Æ	Chakra Varma	<i>Cha . .</i>	<i>(Va)rma Deva</i>
7	Æ	Unmatta Varma	<i>Sri</i>	<i>Unma[ti]</i>

MIXED DYNASTY.

8	Æ	Yasaskara	<i>Yāsakara</i>	<i>Deva</i>
9	Æ	Parvva Gupta	<i>Sri Parvva</i>	<i>Gupta</i>
10	Æ	Kshema Gupta	<i>Kshema Gu-</i>	<i>-pta De-[ia]</i>
11	Æ	Didda Kshema Gupta ²¹	<i>Di Kshema Gu-</i>	<i>-pta</i>
12	Æ	Abhmanyu Gupta	<i>Abhmanyu</i>	<i>Gupta</i>
13	Æ	Nandi Gupta	<i>Nandi Gu-</i>	<i>-pta</i>
14	Æ	Tribhuvana Gupta	<i>Tribhuvana</i>	<i>Gupta</i>
15	Æ	Bhima Gupta	<i>Bhima Gu-</i>	<i>-pta</i>
16	Æ	Didda Rāni	<i>Sri Diddā</i>	<i>Devya</i>

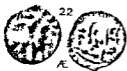
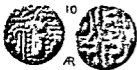
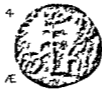
²¹ Kshema Gupta, shortly after his accession, married Didda, with whom he was so infatuated that he added her name to his own, and called himself *Didda Kshema*, which is contracted on the coins to *Di-Kshema*. The coins with this name are extremely common, but the single-name coin is unique.

MIXED DYNASTY—continued.

PLATE V		NAMES	OBVERSE	REVERSE
No	Metal		Seated Goddess	Standing Raja.
17	Æ	Sangrāma Deva	<i>Sangrāma Ra-</i>	<i>-ya Deva</i>
18	Æ	Ananta Deva	<i>Ananta Ra-</i>	<i>-ya Deva</i>
19	Æ	Kalasa	<i>Kalasa Ra-</i>	<i>-ya Deva</i>
20	BILL.	Ditto	<i>Kalasa</i>	<i>Prama . . .</i>
21	N	Harsha, 73 grains	Horseman with lance to r	Goddess seated
22	N	Ditto, 72 grains	Elephant to right	<i>Sri Harsha Deva</i>
23	R	Ditto, 23 5 grains	Same as 22	<i>Sri Harsha Deva</i>
24	Æ	Ditto	<i>Harsha Raja</i>	<i>Deva</i>
25	Æ	Uchhala	<i>Uchhala</i>	<i>Deva</i>
26	Æ	Sussala	<i>Sri Sussala</i>	<i>Deva</i>
			Some coins are without the <i>Sri</i>	
27	Æ	Salla	<i>Salla Ra[ya]</i>	<i>Deva</i>
28	Æ	Jaya Sinha Deva I.	<i>Sri Jaya Sinha</i> some coins have <i>Jaya Sinha Raja</i> <i>Deva</i>	<i>Deva</i>
29	Æ	Jaya Sinha Deva II.	<i>Sri Vijaya Suta</i>	<i>Sinha Deva</i>
29A	Æ	Sri Jaya Siratna Deva		
30	Æ	Paramānak	<i>Sri Para [mānaka]</i>	<i>Deva</i>
31	Æ	Avanti Deva	<i>Avanti</i>	<i>Deva</i>
32	Æ	Jaga Deva	<i>Jaga</i>	<i>Deva</i>
33	Æ	Raja Deva	<i>Sri Raja</i>	<i>Deva</i>
The two following coins are of the Kashmir types, but the names of the Rajas are not in any of the lists				
34	Æ	Pratāpa Deva	<i>Pratāpa</i>	<i>Deva</i>
35	Æ	Gulhana	<i>Sri Gulhana</i>	

VI.—RAJPUTANA AND N.-W. INDIA.

The Saka satraps of W. India [Surashtra and Mālwa] were subdued by the Guptas about A.D. 400. The Balharas, of whom we have only some unread coins of silver, were most probably also tributary to the Guptas until Balabhi was sacked in A.D. 524 by the White Huns. As this date falls in the middle of the reign of Mihirkul,



I conclude that the destruction of the city was the work of the great Ephthalite invader. His father Toramāna, the leader of the *Jābuli* White Huns, had already conquered Sindh in A.D. 505, and W. Mālwa about A.D. 510, in the time of Bhānu-Gupta, whose inscription at Eran is dated in S. 191 of the Gupta era, or A.D. 509. The coins of the *Jābuli* kings of Sindh are thin broad pieces of silver, copied from the Sassanian money. They are described in my account of the White Huns, which was read before the last meeting of the Oriental Congress in 1892.

Mihirkul himself was defeated by the combined armies of the Hindu Princes of Upper India, and driven out of Rajputāna about A.D. 530.

The Indian coins of Mediæval Age, from A.D. 600 to 1200, that are found in Rājputāna and N. India, from the Sutlej eastward as far as Benares, and from the Himalaya southward to the Narbada River, consist of three distinct classes chiefly of silver, or of copper plated or only washed with silver. There is only one gold coin, Pl. VI. 18, with mediæval letters.

I. Thick pieces of silver, weighing upwards of 60 grains [Pl. VI. fig. 7], with a head on one side and an altar, or throne, on the other. These are found most plentifully in S.-W. Rajputana, in Baroda and the neighbouring districts of Mewar, Mālwa, and Gujarāt. They are known by the names of *Gadiya*, derived, as I conjecture, from the fire altar or throne (*gadi*) on the reverse. By the early Muhammadan writers they are described as *Tūtariya* dirhems, or as Masudi²² writes the name *Talato-wiya* dirhems, weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ dirhem, or $48 + 16 = 64$ grains.

²² Sprenger's Masudi.

In weight they correspond exactly with the Greek *drachma*, and in type they are the direct descendants of the *hemi drachms* of the Saka satraps of Surashtra and Malwa with the *gadi*, or "throne," in place of the original *chaitya*. Even the *sun* and *moon* symbols of the Sassanian coins are retained with the fire altar or throne.

II Thin broad pieces of silver, weighing upwards of 60 grains [Pl VI figs 13—15] with a head on one side, and a fire altar with two attendant priests on the reverse. These are simply rude copies of the Sassanian coins. They are common in the Gangetic Doub, but are found more plentifully in Mewar and Mārwar, and throughout all Rajputāna. The early coins are without letters, but they still retain the sun and moon symbols of their Sassanian prototypes. The king's head has a beard and a moustache as on the Sassanian coins. The flames of the altar have become a mere pyramid of dots and the attendant priests are scarcely recognisable as intended for human beings. On the later coins the title of *Sri* appears either above or behind the head, and other letters in front of the face, as *Ha* or *Ja*, and others. It is possible that *Ha* may be the initial syllable of *Harsha Vardhana's* name, but this is only a guess. As the letters belong to the seventh or eighth century this tentative guess is at least plausible.

There is a large number of copper coins [Pl VI 1—6] which show *Siva* and his bull on one side, and on the reverse a very rude representation of what appears to be a fire altar with its two attendant priests. Many of them bear single letters or names in early mediæval letters. One has the name of *Rudra*, and a second has the syllable *Tri* which may be the first syllable of a well known name of *Sua*, either as *Trilochan*, "the three eyed," or

Tripurāntāla, "the destroyer of the Asur Tripura" The Bull Nandi and the Trident are well-known symbols of Siva A large find of these coins was made at Rohtak, between the Sutlej and Delhi, ten years ago They probably formed the common copper currency of the Panjab and Rajputāna between A D 500 and 800

There are also smaller silver and copper coins of Sassanian types with the name of *Sri Somala Deva* [Pl VI, 10—12), of whom we know nothing As the copper coins bear a horseman they were probably copied from the coins of the Brahmani kings of Kabul, and would therefore date in the ninth or tenth century A D

Another class of silver coins of Sassanian type bears the name of *Sri Vighraha* (Pl VI 16), while some have *Sri Ja*

The latest class of these coins is quite different On the obverse is the figure of the Varāha incarnation of Vishnu, and on the reverse, in letters of the ninth century, the legend *Srimad Adi Varaha*, which was the title borne by Bhoja Deva of Kanauj in A D 850—900

All these coins were known by the general name of *drammas* or *dramyas*, of which several distinct kinds are mentioned in the *Siron* (or *Sidoniya*) inscription, with dates from A D 903 to 968²³ The following kinds, I believe, may be identified with some of the specimens in Pl VI I will describe these separately under the letters A, B, C, and D

- A — *Drammas* without any special name
- B — *Srimad Adi Varaha drammas*
- C — *Vighraha Pila drammas*
- D — *Panchajanya drammas*

²³ *Vijayajñāna* *Indica* 1, 167

Drammas, or *Diamyas*, are also mentioned in the following inscriptions —

Gwalior—A.D. 875, 876 *Srimad Adi Varaha*, title of Bhoja Deva of Mahodaya or Kanauj²⁴

Pehera—A.D. 903 907 Mahendra Pala Deva—*Dharmas*²⁵

Asni—A.D. 917 Mahi Pala Deva—*Dra* 500²⁶

Jaunpur—A.D. 1216 2 250 *Shad Boddika Drammas*²⁷

Besant—A.D. 1207 *Dra* 10, *Dra* 1,000²⁸

The simple *Drammas*, A, I take to be the small thick pieces of silver (Pl VI, 7), weighing upwards of 60 grains, or up to 65 and 66 full weight, which are generally known in Gujarât and Mâlwa as *Gadiya* coins, and also as *Chaukadula*. There is a weight called *gadyânah* of 36 *ratîs*, or 65.5 grains at 1.82 grains to the *ratî*, but the weight varies very much according to the value of the *ratî*. I take the common *dramma* to be the lineal descendant of the Greek *drachm* of 67.2 grains full weight, and I would identify it with the *Shad-boddika dramma* of the Jaunpur inscription. The *rodî*, or *boddika* was the name of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *pana*, or *padîla* of silver = 11.2 grains, or exactly the same as the Greek *obolus*.

The *Srimad Adi Varaha Dramma*, B (Pl VI, figs 20, 21), was of the same weight as A, ranging up to 63 grains.

The *Vigraha Pala*, C, was also of the same weight as A (Pl VI, 16). Fractions of this coin are also mentioned

²⁴ The Gwalior inscription of the rock cut Temple states that the Governor of Gopadri was appointed by King *Srimad Adi Varaha*, or Raja Bhoja Deva.

²⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, 1, 184 185

²⁶ *Indian Antiquary*, xvi, 174

²⁷ *Archæol. Survey*, xi, 176

²⁸ *Archæol. Survey*, xvi, 102

as $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *Vigraha Pala* dramma, but as no small coins of this type have been found, the fraction must have been in copper coins

The *Panchyal a dramma*, D, I understand to have been a piece of "five boddikas," as its name seems to imply. Its full weight would therefore have been five times 112 grains, or 560 grains. This weight answers exactly to that of the silver coins of the Kabul Brahman coins, twelve of which in my cabinet average 54 grains

With the single exception of the *Adi Varaha* coins, none of the pieces represented in Plate VI have yet been assigned to any known kings. We know nothing of any prince named *Somala Deva* (Figs 10, 11, 12), and we cannot fix the country of *Vigraha*. As the *Siron* inscription calls the coins *Vigraha Pala drammās*, the prince may have belonged to the Raghuvansa family of Bhoja Deva, as all of his known successors took the suffix of *Pala*, as in the following list, according to the *Peheva*, *Siron*, and *Asni* inscriptions

Probable Accession A D		Dates. A D
860	BHOJA DEVA	862 875 882
835	Mahendra Pala Deva	903—907
910	Kshiti Pala, or Mali Pala	917—918
935	Deva Pala	918

The only *Vigraha Palas* that I know belong to the *Pala* Rajas of Magadha. Their dates would suit, but we have not hitherto found any of their coins. The following names precede that of *Malipala*, who certainly possessed Benares and whose date is well ascertained

Accession A. D.		
910	Vigraha Pala I	
925	Narayana Pala	
950	Rajya Pala	
965	Rāma Pala	
980	Vigraha Pala II	S 12 of reign
1015	Mahi Pala	V S 1088 = A. D. 1026

During some excavations of the ruins of the Vajrāsan Vihāra at *Ghoṣāśāca* in Magadha I found some silver coins of Vigraha, one of which differed from the usual type in having no king's head, the inside of the obverse being occupied with the name in large letters *Sri Vi (graha)*, see Plate VI, fig 17²⁹

RAJPUTĀNA AND W INDIA

PLATE VI

No	Metal	Gr	
1	Æ		British Museum <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E Thomas [Pl XXXIV 17, 18] <i>King to front</i> , with spear in left hand <i>Sun</i> Indian legend, <i>Ghuta</i> , or <i>Shuta</i>
2	Æ		British Museum <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E Thomas [Pl XXXIV 12] <i>Siva and his Bull Nandi</i> , as on the coins of Vasu Deva <i>Fire Altar (?)</i> Indian legend, <i>Rudra</i>
	Æ		<i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E Thomas [Pl XXXIV 11] <i>Sua and Bull</i> <i>Rei</i> —Trident with <i>Tri</i>
3	Æ		Author, four specimens from large find at Rohtak <i>Sua and Bull</i> <i>Rei</i> —Rude Fire Altar, attendant to left, <i>Bal</i> in monogram to right

²⁹ *Archaeol Survey of India* xi 175, and Plate XLIII

PLATE VI			
No.	Metal.	Grs	
1	Æ		British Museum. <i>Sua and Bull. Rev</i> —Rude Fire Altar, attendant to right, wheel to left.
5	Æ		<i>Sua and Bull Rev</i> —Rude Fire Altar; Trident to right.
6	Æ		<i>Sua and Bull Rev</i> —Rude Fire Altar, with an attendant on each side
7	Æ	65	From <i>Baroda and Malwa</i> , common, called <i>Gadia</i> <i>Rude Head of King</i> to right, with numerous dots and other indescribable marks <i>Rude Fire Altar or Throne (Gadi)</i> , with symbols of Sun and Moon.
8	Æ	66	Similar types as on No 7, common; in <i>Malwa, Gujarat, and Rajputana</i>
9	Æ		<i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E. Thomas. [Pl XXVII 19] <i>Obv</i> — <i>Hasa or Hansa</i> , with <i>S ho</i> below <i>Rev</i> — <i>Sri</i> , with ornamental lines and dots
10	Æ	65	Author, <i>Rajputana</i> , unique <i>Rude head</i> to right <i>Rev</i> — <i>Sri Somala De[ta]</i>
11	Æ	83	Author, <i>Rajputana</i> , in 3 sizes of 65, 83 and 17 grains <i>Rude Horseman</i> to right, copied from <i>Kabul Brahman coins</i> <i>Rev</i> — <i>Sri Somala Deva</i>
12	Æ	29	Author, <i>Rajputana</i> , unique <i>Horseman galloping</i> to left. <i>Sri Somala Deva</i>
13	Æ		Dr. Hoernle, from <i>Marwar</i> , <i>British Museum</i> <i>Rude Head of King</i> to right, copied from <i>Sassanian coins</i> <i>Rev.</i> — <i>Rude copy of Fire Altar</i> and two attendants, with symbols of Sun and Moon
14	Æ	57	Author, duplicate Mr Theobald, <i>Rajputana</i> ; common See E. Thomas [Pl XXXIII 7.8]

PLATE VI			
No	Metal	Gr.	
			<i>Rude Head of King to right, Indian Sri over head, and Ha before face perhaps for Haishri</i> <i>Rev</i> —Rude Fire Altar with two attendants
15	Æ	65	Mr Theobald, a plated coin <i>Rude Head of King to right before face, Indian Sri la (one letter lost)</i> <i>Rev</i> —Rude Fire Altar, with two attendants
16	Æ	62	Author, duplicate Mr Theobald common, but seldom good <i>Rude Head of King to right before face Sri, below, Vira(ha)</i> <i>Rev</i> —Indian letter M in middle in place of Fire Altar One attendant on each side
17	Æ		Author, found in the ruins of Monastery at Ghosrawa, in Magadha (<i>Archæ Suric</i> , vi. Pl XLIII 1, 2) Legend in middle of obverse instead of King's head, Sri li [graha] <i>Rev</i> —Fire Altar with two attendant priests
18	Æ	185	Author Obverse, Sri Reverse, Snaye
19	Æ		Mr Theobald, and a duplicate Head with the letter Ja in front of face Rude Fire Altar with attendants
20	Æ	62	Author, common in Rajputana and N India Figure of the Varaha Natu of Vishnu to right with left leg raised, below, a small lion, to right, a sun symbol, behind, a trident. <i>Rev</i> —Legend in 2 lines, Srimal Ah Varaha, with traces of two attendants to right and left, and remains of Fire Altar below
21	Æ		The Adi Varaha coins completed from several examples The coins are usually very small and imperfect
22	Æ	16	Author, very thin light coin Hors man to right Prostrate man lying on his stomach, above Sri li ri

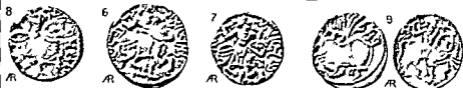
KAMARA



VENKA DEVA



SPALAPATI DEVA



SAMANTA DEVA



KHAMARAYAKA



BHIMA DEVA



ASATA PALA



MAHMUD



PLATE VI		
No	Metal	Grs
23	Æ	19

Author, very thin light coin, apparently double struck
 Horseman to right, a second horseman appears behind
 Prostrate man lying on his stomach, above,
Sri Tru

The legend on these coins is probably intended for *Sri Trukrama*, a well known title of Vishnu, referring to the three steps or paces which he made in the "Dwarf *Acatura*"

VII—GANDHĀRA AND PANJAB

The main source of our knowledge of the Brahman kings of Kabul is *Alberuni*, who came to India with Mahmud only a century after their rule had come to an end. Some additional information can be gleaned from his copyists, and still more from the numerous coins of the kings, which are still found in great numbers in the Kabul valley, in the Punjab, and all over North India. After mentioning the great Kushān king, Kanik (or Kanishka), who built the *Vihara* of Purushāwar, he adds, "The last king of this race was *Al Kitorman*,³⁰ and his Vazir was *Kalla*, a Brahman." The latter had been fortunate in finding a hidden treasure, which gave him much influence and power. The Vazir imprisoned the Raja and seized the throne. "After him ruled the Brahman kings, *Samand*, *Kamalu*, *Bhim*, *Jaypāl*, *Anandpāl*, *Taroyanpāl*. The latter was killed A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021), and his son *Bhimpāl* five years later (A.D. 1026)'

³⁰ M. Sachau, *u*, p. 19, gives the name as *Loqaturman*, but E. Thomas has shown that both Arabic and Persian copies which he consulted read *Kitorman*.

In this account it will be observed that the early kings are called *Dera*, while all the last four kings are called *Pála*. Now it is remarkable that while we have coins of the first four kings, we have not found even a single specimen of any one of the last four. My inference is that these last four princes were of a different family. They are in fact always called *Shahs* by *Alberuni* himself, as well as by others. Their territories extended "from Kashmir to Multan and from Sarhind to Lamghan,"²¹ and we learn from *Masudi* (who died A H 345 = A D 956) that the king of Kandahar (*Gandbara*) is called *Hahay*, which name is common to all sovereigns of that country,²² and he further adds that Kandahar is called the country of the *Rajput*. I conclude, therefore, that *Jaypál*, who was the contemporary of *Masudi*, must have been a Rajput, and not a Brahman, and further, that he may have been a *Janyuha* (*Jajah*) Rajput, which tribe was at that very time in possession of the hill country between the Indus and Jhelam. According to *Ferishta*, also, *Jaypál* was the son of *Ishtpál* (or *Asatpál*).

Alberuni further says that "this Hindu *Shahs* dynasty is now extinct (after the deaths of *Trilochan Pál* and *Bhum Pal*)," and that "the pedigree of this royal family written on silk exists in the fortress *Nagarkot* (*Kangra*), which belonged to *Trilochanpál*." I conclude, therefore, that after the death of the *Brahman* king *Bhimpál* the Rajput *Jaypál*, son of *Asatpál*, had regained the throne of his ancestors, the *Sláhya* dynasty. I note that *Anandpal* is called *Sháh* by *Alberuni* (i 136), and that *Trilochan Pal*, the opponent of *Mahmud* is always spoken of as "the *Sháh*" in the *Raja Tarangin*. I think that I can

²¹ Briggs s *Ferishta* : 15

²² H. M. Elliot : 22

trace this family a few generations farther back by their title of *Shahi*, as I make a guess that they may have belonged to the dynasty of Little Kushâns, or *Shah Kitors*, who were driven out by the Brahman Kallar. Thus I find in the *Raja Tarangini* a chief named *Lalliya Shahi* was deposed by Gopâla Varma of Kashmir about A.D. 902, who set up his son *Tomaruna Shâhi* in his father's place. If we place *Asatpal*, the father of Jaypal, in A.D. 925, Jaypal himself will succeed naturally about 950 A.D. The enthronement of *Jaypal* would thus have been a simple restoration of the *Little Kushans* or *Shâh Kitors* to their old kingdom.

There is some difficulty in arranging the dates of these two lines of kings, the *Brahmans* and the *Shâhis*. The following facts are our only guides —

I.—*Kanik*, the last of the Kitorman kings, was dethroned by his Vazir, the Brahman Kallar, but after some time *Kanik* regained his throne.

II.—After *Kanik*'s death the Brahman Simand became king.

III.—*Yakub Saifuri*, A.D. 873—878, took Kabul, and struck coins at Panjshur, in A.H. 260, 261, A.D. 873—874.

IV.—*Amru Saifuri*, A.D. 878—900 took *Kamalu* (or *Kalmu*) prisoner. [H. M. Elliot, II, 423, from *Jami al Hikayat*.]

The author was a gossiping story teller who wrote as late as the thirteenth century. I doubt his accuracy, and prefer the authority of *Alberuni*, who was in India early in the eleventh century.

V.—Silver coin of bull and horseman type, *Al Muktedir Billah*, A.D. 907—932, outline figure.

VI.—Copper coin of *Al Mutaki Billah*, A.D. 940—944, outline figures.

VII.—*Masudi*, about A.H. 332=A.D. 943, died A.D. 966, calls the king a *Rajput*.

There is a difficulty also about the names of some of the kings, which ought to agree with those of the coins.

absence of any coins of the Shâhis would seem to show some great revolution. Ferishta calls Jaypâl the son of *Ishtypâl*, who may perhaps be the *Asat Pâl* of some rare coins of the Bull and Horseman type, which I have given in Plate VII., figs. 19—20. I hazard a guess that Asat-pâl may have been a son of *Tomarâna Shâhi*, and the grandson of *Lâliya Shâhi*, of whom the author of the *Raja Taranginî* says that he was "among kings even as the sun is among stars"

I have placed the probable accession of *Jaypâl* as early as 950 A.D. because I find that the Shâhi of Kabul had a grown-up son, between 964 and 973, who accompanied the rebel *Laukh*, and was defeated by *Sibuktigin* at Charkh, in the Lobgarh Valley, between Kabul and Ghazni. But the Shâhi king is mentioned at a still earlier date in the *Raja Taranginî*, in which it is stated that *Diddâ Râni's* mother was a Shâhi princess (vi. 177). Now *Diddâ Râni* became the Queen of *Kshema Gupta* not later than A.D. 951; and if we place her birth not later than A.D. 935, and her mother's birth not later than 920 A.D., her grandfather, the *Shâhi King*, must be placed at least as early as A.D. 920, during the time of the Brahman king *Sâmantâ Deva*. But though the line of Shâhi princes still adhered to their ancient title, their former power was not recovered until the time of *Jaypâl*. This is distinctly shown by the *Jhûsi* copper plate inscription of *Trilochan Pâl*, which recounts his genealogy from *Vijaya Pâla*, omitting all earlier ancestors³⁸. The title of Shâhi is not given, but all three kings take the high-sounding titles of

Parama Bhattârâja, Mahârâjâdhirâja, Parameswara

³⁸ *Indian Antiquary*, xviii 31

Jayapal probably at first held Kabul, but in 977 A D he encountered Sabuktigin at Lamghân, and in A D 1000 he fought with Mahmud near Peshawar, or more correctly near his capital of *Weland*, now called Ohind, on the Indus above Attak. He died a voluntary death in 1002, and was succeeded by his son, Anand Pal, who was defeated by Mahmud in 1008 A D. As the Muhammadans advanced the Indians retired. At first they occupied *Dhwa*, on the Jhelam, but being driven out in 1004, they retired to the northern mountains. Trilochan Pâl succeeded in A D 1014, and in 1018 he was defeated by Mahmud on the banks of the Taushi or Tohi River (*Raja Tarangini*, vii, 50). Troyer, in his translation, reads *Taushi* as the name of the month in which the battle was fought, but as there are no less than three streams of this name in the North Punjab—first near Punach, second near Rajaori, third near Jammu—I accept the native translator's opinion that it is a river. Trilochan retired after his defeat to Hastikim (*Raja Tarangini*, vii, 60). He continued to retreat to India and was again defeated by Mahmud on the banks of the *Rahib*. His son Bhimpâl was betrothed to the daughter of Chand Rai of *Sianwa*, "one of the greatest men in Hind" according to Utbi.³⁹ Here we lose sight of him, but the Jhusi inscription informs us that he was still alive in A D 1027.

The royal family of the Shâhis continued to flourish for several hundred years, and gave many queens to Kashmir. The two Queens of Harsha, A D 1089—1100, were Shâhi princesses.

³⁹ H. M. Elliot ii. 47

BRĀHMANS and RĀJPUT SHĀHIS.

BRĀHMANS.		SHĀHIS.	
A.D.		A.D.	
860	Venka	870	Lalliya Shāhi
870	.. Yakub Soffari con- quers Kabul		
878	.. strikes coins at Panj- shir		
875	Kallar, Brahman, or <i>Spalapati Deva</i>	883	Lalliya Shāhi, de- throned by Sang- lara Varma
895	Venka restored		
900	Sumanta Deva	902	Tomarana Shāhi, placed on throne by Gopala Varma
		930	Isht-pal (Asatpāl), recorded father of
910	<i>Kamlua</i>		
915	Bhīma Deva		
RĀJPUTS.			
950	Jay Pāl, Shāhi. 964 —973. His son de- feated by Sabuktigin		Vijaya Pāla Deva (Jhusi Copper Plate)
1002	Anand Pal Shāhi		Ananda Pāla Deva
1012	Trilochan Pāl Shāhi		Trilochana Pāla Deva
1021	Bhim Pāl Shāhi		
1026	Recorded end of Shā- hiya dynasty	1027	Trilochan—still alive v.s. 1084 = A.D. 1027

GANDHARA AND PANJAB.

PLATE VII			KAMARA.	
No.	Metal	Gr.		
1	Æ	80 3	British Museum. <i>Sir Chas Bayley</i> ; (<i>Nun. Chron.</i> , 1882) an early coin; before <i>Venka Deva</i> (?) 850 A.D. <i>Peacock</i> with outspread wings to left. <i>Lion</i> to left; <i>Indian Legend</i> , Sri Kamara	
			VENKA-DEVA, A.D. 860.	
2	Æ	52	Author; also of middle size, 42 grains, and of small size, 18 grains.	

PLATE VII			
No	Metal	Gr	
			<i>Elephant walking to left</i> Legend <i>Sri Venka Deva</i> <i>Lion to right, tail over back</i>
8	Æ		N B—Single letters are found on some coins below the Lion, as D, Pi, R, V
			VENKA DEVA—RESTORED (?) A D 895
4	Æ	19	<i>Author, unique</i> <i>Humped Bull, Sri Ve</i> <i>Horseman</i> N B—As these are the types of Spalapati's coins, I venture to assign the coin to the second reign of Venka Deva.
			SPALAPATI DEVA, A D 875
5	Æ	54	<i>Author</i> <i>Recumbent humped Bull to left, with trisul of Siva on flank, and ornamental cloth covering over body</i> Legend, <i>Sri Spalapati Deva</i> <i>Horseman to right, with long lance in right hand and left hand before face, holding some indistinct object</i> Legend in unknown characters to right Single Indian letters occur on the reverse to the upper left, as A, Gu, K, perhaps the initials of Mint cities
6	Æ		Author These specimens present various readings of the unknown legends on the reverse Nos 8 and 9 seem to be of rather later date the figures approaching the outline representations like those of the coins of the later kings
7	Æ		
8	Æ		
9	Æ		
	Æ		
—	Æ		All the copper coins of Spalapati are of the same type as his silver coins They are of the same size, and were apparently struck from the same dies

PLATE VII.					
No	Metal	Grs			
SĀMANTA DEVA, A D 900					
10	Æ	50	<i>Author</i> , very common Six good coins, average 50 grains <i>Recumbent humped Bull</i> in outline to left Legend, <i>Sri Samanta Deva</i> Horseman to right, with long lance in right hand and left hand raised before face, holding some indistinct object Three letters or figures to right To left, the Indian letter <i>Bhi</i> , perhaps for Bhira		
11	Æ	33	<i>Author</i> Coin of small size, rare Only six specimens average 33.3 grains <i>Recumbent humped Bull</i> to left, with <i>trisul</i> of Siva on flank, <i>Sri Samanta Deva</i> Horseman to right with long lance Plume on horse's head Three letters or figures to right N B—These coins are smaller and their types are also smaller than No 10		
12	Æ	40	<i>Author</i> , common {	Types of elephant and lion, as on Venka Deva's coins Coins of three sizes, weighing about 42, 14, and 7 grains	
13	Æ	12			<i>Author</i> , common {
—	Æ	5.1			
14	Æ	52	<i>Author</i> , very common in Punjab and N India Thick coins <i>Recumbent Bull</i> and <i>Horseman</i> types, <i>Sri Samanta Deva</i>		
KHAMARAYAKA (?) Kamalua A D 940					
15	Æ	46	<i>Author</i> Rare, average of seven coins, 46 grains <i>Recumbent humped Bull</i> to left, <i>Sri Khamarayakah</i> Horseman with lance to right Three letters or figures to right unread In field to left on different coins, the single letters A, K, Bhi, M	}	
16	Æ	46			
BHIMA DEVA, A.D 945					
17	Æ	50	<i>Author</i> , very rare <i>Recumbent humped Bull</i> to left <i>Sri Bhima Deva</i>		

PLATE VII			
No	Metal	Gr	
18	Æ	24	<p><i>Horseman</i> to right with lance Three unknown letters or figures to right To left, the single letter N</p> <p>Author, unique <i>Elephant</i> to left <i>Sri Bhuma Deva</i> <i>Lion</i> to right, as on coins of <i>Venka</i> and <i>Samanta</i></p>
ASATA PALA			
19	Æ	48	<p>Author, very rare Only five specimens <i>Recumbent humped Bull</i> to left <i>Sri Asata Pála</i> <i>Horseman</i> to right</p>
20	Æ	48	<p>Similar types, but legend, <i>Sri Asata ra</i></p>
<p>No coins have yet been found of the <i>Shahis</i> <i>Haris Jayapala</i>, <i>Ananda Pala</i> and <i>Trilochana Pala</i>, but the Bull and Horseman types were continued by the Ghaznvide conquerors, of whom a specimen may be seen in Sir Clive Blyley's Plate, fig 22, with the name of <i>Misaud</i> above the horseman, and the name of <i>Sri Simanta Deva</i> above the Bull on the other side I possess other coins of the same kind of <i>Modud</i> and <i>Terokhzid</i> But the most interesting coins of the transition period are the dirhems of Mahmud himself, which were struck at <i>Lahor</i>, with a translation of the <i>Muhammadan Kalimeh</i> in Sanskrit A specimen of this coin was first made known by E Thomas I have possessed only four specimens of this rare coin, one of which I will now describe</p>			
MAHMUD OF GHAZNI, A D 1027			
21	AR	45	<p>Sanskrit legend in middle of coin</p> <p style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">{</p> <p style="font-size: 0.8em; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>Abjakt u: eka</i> <i>Muhan mala</i> <i>catra Nripa</i> <i>ti Mahi ul</i> </p> <p style="font-size: 2em; vertical-align: middle;">}</p> <p>The one Eternal Nubam mad the Messenger King Mahmal</p>
<p>Circular legend, <i>tyari takam Mal mudpur</i> <i>il itte Hiyajena Simriti</i> 118 ' This</p>			

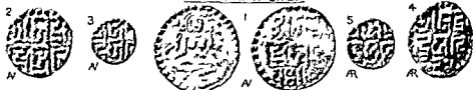
PLATE VII		
No	Metal	Gra

tanha (was struck) at Mahmudpur in the
 Hira year 418 (= A D 1027)
 E Thomas has read the latter half of the
 circular legend differently, thus
ghate tata jhiyera Samati 418
Mahmutur is a correction of Alberuni's
Mandahukur 'the capital of *Lohavar*, E
 of the River *Irāwa* [Sachau I, 206]

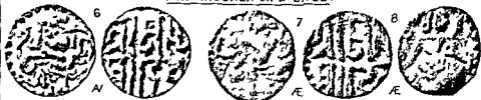
The horseman on these coins is compared after the
 fashion that prevailed in the East in mediæval times I
 have seen numerous pictures of Eastern kings from Mah-
 mud of Ghazni down to Muhammad Ghorī, commonly
 known as Muhammad bin Sām, and one of the latter king
 now lies before me He is represented on horseback going
 to the right as on these Hindu coins, and carrying a lance
 in his right hand with a pennon floating from the top
 His left arm is raised in front of his face, and apparently
 holds out a small buckle It certainly does *not* hold the
 bridle rein, which is seemingly connected with the pom-
 mel of the saddle, as on the coins It is this raised arm
 that on the later coins has been taken for the letter *lām*,
 ل of the Arabic *adl*, عدل, the letters *ad* being actually
 the initial letters of the legend in unknown characters
 The king wears long jack boots, and a helmet with crest,
 and a back-piece covering the neck He has also a sword
 fastened to his waist, and a quiver of arrows at his back
 The rider's legs and the horse's flanks are protected by
chamis, or tails of the Tibetan long-haired ox But none
 of these latter equipments are found on the coins

The types of the humped bull and horseman were at
 once adopted by the kings of Ghazni until their extinc-
 tion, and were afterwards continued by Muhammad bin
 Sam and his successors in Ghazni and Delhi down to the

DAHAL OR W CHEDI

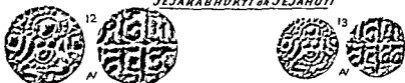


MAHAKOSALA OR E CHEDI



KIRTTI VARMA

JEJAKABHUKTI OR JEJAHUTI



HALLAKSHANA VARMA



JAYA VARMA

PRITHVI VARMA



MADANA VARMA DEVA



time of Balban, A D 1265, of whom I possessed a single coin with the horseman on one side. But though the type was disused at Delhi, it was continued on the coinage of the petty Rajas of Kangra down to the time of Triloka Chandra a contemporary of Jahangir in A D 1620. Altogether, therefore, it continued in use for the long period of upwards of seven hundred and fifty years.

But the Indo Scythian types of the standing Raja and the seated goddess Lakshmi, which were introduced by Kanishka in A D 79, lasted for a much longer period, having been continued on the coinage of Kashmir down to the Muhammadan conquest in A D 1339, or for twelve hundred and forty years.

VIII —CHEDIS OF DAHAL AND MAHA-KOSALA

The *Chedis*, or *Haihayas*, of Central India claimed descent from Sahasra-Arjuna, or Kârtavirya, through Huhaya, a descendant of Yadu, the progenitor of the Yadavas. The Chedis are mentioned in the Mahâbhârata with their chief city of Manipura, which was the capital of Chitrangada, whose daughter Chitrângadâ became the mother of Babhruvâhana—by Arjuna Pândava. Manipura is popularly believed to have been in *Malâ Kosala*, or *E Chedi*, the present district of Chatisgarh and Raipur, in the Central Provinces. The province includes all the country watered by the Mahanadi River and its tributaries. But the capital of the *Haihaya* king *Kârtavirya* was Mahishmati, on the Nerbada, in *W Chedi*, or *Dâhal*. It apparently included all the country watered by the Upper Nerbada and its tributaries.

In all the inscriptions of Mahâ Kosala the rulers are

styled *Chedi-narendīa*, *Chedindra*, or *Chediswara*, or "Ruler of the Chedis" ⁴⁰ But from an early date they had spread over the province of *Jejuhuti*, on the Ken and Betwa Rivers, and at a later period they occupied the country on the Tamasa, or Tons River, now known as Bâghelkhand After their conquest of *Jejâhuti*, with its strong fortress of *Kâlanjar*, they proudly styled their rulers *Kalanjarudhipati*, or "lords of *Kalanjar*"—a title which both branches claimed in their inscriptions down to the latest times They also founded an era of their own, called the *Chedi Samvat*, or the *Kulachuri Samvat* As this era dates from A D 249, I infer that their occupation of *Kâlanjar* must have been the occasion on which it was founded Both branches of the family used it down to their fall

The kingdom of *Dahal*, or *W Chedi*, as known in historical times, had for its capital *Tripura*, now *Tewar*, on the *Narbadâ*, a few miles to the west of *Jabalpur*. It is mentioned by *Varâha Mihira* in the *Brihat Samhita*, A D 550 This country, with its capital and its reigning king, are all mentioned by *Alberuni* ⁴¹ "*Dahala*," he says, "is a country the capital of which is *Tauri* (*Tripuri*), and the ruler of which is now *Gangeya*" This was the king who first introduced the coins shown in Plate VIII, which were afterwards copied by the *Chandella* Rajas of *Mahoba*, the *Rahtors* of *Kanauj*, and even by *Muhammad bin Sâm*, the conqueror of *Delhi* But, strange to say, not one of his successors imitated his example, and his coins in gold, silver, and copper still remain the only specimens of the money of the powerful *Chedi* kings of

⁴⁰ *Archæol Survey*, xvii 71

⁴¹ *Sachau s Alberuni*, i 202, *Reinard Fragments*, pp 85—106, gives the names as *Dhal*, *Tipur* and *Ganges*

Dâhal They are, however, rather numerous, and their issue may have been sufficient for the wants of the country.

At some early date a third branch of the Kulachuri clan found its way to the south to the banks of the Godâveri River, where they appear to have reigned previous to the establishment of the Chalukya kings of Kalyân

In the Yeur inscription the Chalukyas are designated as the destroyers of the authority of the Rashtrakutas and the Kalachuryas⁴² Mangalisa Chalukya, who reigned from A D 530 to 550, is specially mentioned as having ravished the power of the Kalachuris like a thunderbolt At last, in A D 1153, Bijjala Deva *Kalachuri*, the commander-in-chief, expelled the Chalukya Raja, Tailapa Deva, who retired to Banawâsi Bijjala then assumed the title of *Maharajadhwaja* and *Kalanjaradhipati*, thus proving that he belonged to the same clan as the Kalachuris of Dâhala and Mahakosala

The dates of the inscriptions of the two northern branches is always recorded in their own era, which is called indifferently either the *Chedi Samvat* or the *Kalachuri Samvat*, which I have shown to have been established in A D 249 I conclude therefore, with some confidence, that their power must have been consolidated at that date But we have no detailed lists of their kings that reach up to so early a date There are local chronicles of the Haihaya kings of Mahakosala of Ratanpur, but I do not think that they are trustworthy until mediæval times, when they can be corroborated by existing inscriptions But there is good evidence regarding the Rajas of *Dâhal*,

⁴² Walter Elliot, *1911 As Soc Journal*, iv 39

or *W Chedi* from the time of *Kokalla I*, from whom the detailed genealogy is given both in the Benares and the Bilhari inscriptions, and who is said to have warred with *Bhoja Deva*, a Raja of the West. I take this *Bhoja Deva* to be the king whose inscriptions have been found at Gwalior, at Deogarh, and at Pehewa, with dates A D 862, 875, 882. The same date may be derived from the fact that *Krishna Raja Rāshtrakuta* is recorded to have married *Mahādevī*, the daughter of *Kokalla*⁴³. The date deduced for *Krishna Raja* is A D 870—890.

Of *Lalshmana Raja*, the third in descent from *Kokalla*, it is recorded that his daughter *Vouta Devi* married the *Chalukya* king *Vikramaditya IV*, who died in A D 973.

Of *Kokalla II*, we learn that he was a great warrior, which is confirmed by the fact that there is an inscription bearing his name at *Khajuraho*, one of the great cities of the *Chandellas*.

Of *Gānggeya Deva*, I have already quoted *Alberuni's* statement that he was the reigning king of *Dāhal* in A D 1030.

Raja Karna Dahariya He was contemporary with *Kirtti Vaima*, the Chandella Raja of Jejâhuti, who reigned from A D 1065 to 1100. The Chedis have now nearly disappeared, but during the height of their power they formed alliances with the chief Rajput families of pure blood. Thus Alhanâ Devi, the daughter of Vijayah Singh of Mewar, married Raja Gaya Karna of Chedi (A D 1115 to 1151), and Someswara Chauhan, Raja of Ajmer, went to Tripura, the capital of the Chedi King of Dâhal, where he married Kârpura Devi, the Raja's daughter, and by her became the father of the famous *Prithvi Raja*.

The following list of the Rajas of Dahal, or W Chedi, is compiled from the inscriptions and other sources.

LULACHURIS OF DAHAL, OR W CHEDI

Chedi Era.	A.D.	
	249	Establishment of Era.
271	520	Sankaragana of Chedi
301	550	Buddha, his son, defeated by Mangalisa Châlukya
481	680	Haihayas defeated by Vinayâditya Châlukya
481	780	Haihaya Princess, married Vikramâditya Châlukya
626	875	KOKALLA I, contemporary of Bhoja Deva of Kanauj
651	900	Mugdhatunga
676	925	Yuva Raja Deva.
691	940	Lakshmana, made Lakshmana Sagar at Bilhari.
716	965	Yuva Raja Deva, contemporary of Vikpati
781	980	KOKALLA II Inscription at Kbjuraho
796	1005	GÂNGGFYA DEVA, contemporary of Mahmud, A D 1030
786	1035	KARNA DEVA, c.s. 793 = 1042 A.D.
821	1070	Yasah Karna Deva
856	1105	Gaya Karna Deva, c.s. 902 = 1151 A.D.
902	1151	Nara Sinha Deva, c.s. 907, 909, 926, 928
930	1179	Jaya Sinha Deva [1rother]
992	1181	Vijaya Sinha Deva c.s. 932 = 1181 A.D.

COINS OF THE KULACHURIS OF DĀHAL OR
W. CHEDI.

PLATE VIII			GĀNGGEYA-DEVA	
No.	Metal	Gr.		
1	N	62	Author, common. See Prinsep's <i>Antiquities</i> , i. Pl XXIV. 1, 2, 3 Seated figure of the goddess <i>Parvati</i> , with four arms, holding up a flower in her upraised right hand, legs crossed, and a nimbus round the head Sanskrit inscription in three lines, <i>Srimad Ganggeya Deva</i>	
2	N	80	Author, unique Same type and same legend as No 1	
3	N	14	Author, unique Same type and same legend as No. 1.	
4	R	61	Author, 9 specimens Same type and same legend as No. 1.	
5	R	7	Author, unique. Same type and same legend as No. 1.	
—	Æ	61	Author, 6 specimens Same type and same legend as No 1.	

These are the only coins yet found of the Kulachuris of Dāhal or W. CHEDI. It is very curious that though none of Ganggeya's successors continued the coinage, yet it was imitated by the Chandellas of Jejahuti, by the Tomars of Delhi, and by the Rāhtors of Kanauj. This abstinence on the part of his successors is the more remarkable, as the suite of coins described above seems to form a perfect monetary system in all three metals and of different values that must have been very useful and convenient. The type of the goddess Pārṇatī, as we see on the seal of Karna Deva, was the special symbol or cognisance of the Kalachuris of Dāhal. On the seal the goddess with four arms is represented with an Elephant on each side anointing her, and accompanied by a Bull. Sometimes the Bull was represented alone on the standard as the *Sucarna - vrishabha - dhicaya*, "the golden-bull-stand ard." But there is no trace of the Bull on the coins

KULACHURIS OF MAHĀKOSALA, OR L CHEDI

The Haihaya Kingdom of *Mahākosala*, or *L Chedi*, comprised all the country of the head-waters of the Mahanadi River and its tributaries. It is noticed by the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Tshang, in the seventh century, when its King was a Kshatriya named *Satarahana*. But there is no name like this in the lists of the *Haihaya ramsi* Rajahs of Ratanpur and Raypur. The Chronicles can only be accepted when they agree with the information which is found in the inscriptions. Ratanpur is the earliest capital mentioned in the inscriptions. But the chief cities of the country of the Mahanadi, which I have myself visited, are certainly *Rajim*, *Sirpur*, and *Seonidrayan*, all on the Mahanadi. At these three places there are many magnificent temples and ancient inscriptions to attest the former power and wealth of the rulers of the country.

Something like real history appears to begin with *Siva Deva* of the Chronicles, who is said to have conquered Telhngana. His date is given as *about* A D 749, but as all the dates of his successors are recorded in the *Chedi era*, his true date will be about $749 + 249 = 998$ A D or 1000. The earliest inscription that I have seen is dated in c s 866, or A D 1115. In it I find mention of Sri Kārtavīrya, Haihaya, Sri Kokalla Chediswara Ratna Rāja, Prithvi Deva, Jajalla Deva. (See Kielhorn, *Epigraphic Indica*, i p 33.)

A second inscription dated in Samvat 1207, or A D 1150, gives the names of Jājalla Deva Chedinarendra, Ratna Deva Prithvi Deva.

Two other inscriptions give Prithvi Deva Chedikula, and the later dates of A D 1159 and 1168.

Comparing these names with those recorded in the native Chronicles I make out the following list of the—

RAJAS OF MAHAKOSALA OR E CHEDI

A.D.	Inscriptions.	Chronicles.
1000	Kokalla [? Kokalla II]	Sura Deva
1030	Ratna Deva	Prithvi Deva
1060	Prithvi Deva	Brahma Deva
1090	Jajalla Deva, A D 1116	Rudra Deva
1120	Ratna Deva	Jajalla Deva
1140	Prithvi Deva A D 1116 1168	Ratna Deva
		Vira Sinha Deva
		Ratna Sinha Deva

Up to the present year the only known coins of Mahâ-kosala or E Chedi were those of Prithvi Deva, and they were as I believe, known to myself alone. It is true that E Thomas has twice referred to some gold coins of Prithvi Deva, but both times he has ingeniously avoided to describe the obverse.

In his first accounts (*Prinsep's Essays*, i 395) he says that when he mentioned the coins of Prithvi Deva, in vol 1, p 292, he had overlooked the fact that Prinsep had read the name of Prithvi Deva. But the name which Prinsep read was on a "unique copper coin of Cunningham's," and not on a gold coin which Thomas describes as "sufficiently common, hitherto unpublished."

Again, in his *Pathân Kings*, p 19, he refers to the gold coin in the following terms

Gold—Prinsep's *Essays*, i 292, common

Obverse — *As usual* (i) "Srimat Prithvi Deva"

In both instances he carefully avoids any description of the obverse, except by the strange and mysterious words "as usual." But what did he mean by *as usual*? Did he mean the seated goddess?

The fact is he was writing from memory of what I had

told him, and had not actually seen the coins which I had seen in the British Museum—six specimens in gold of *Srimat Prithvi Deva*. I had never seen even one gold specimen before, and I now believe that Thomas was inaccurate in his description of them as common. To my knowledge these six coins in the British Museum were the only known *gold* specimens of Prithvi Deva until the present year, when Dr Hoernle has described a seventh.

I have entered into this explanation because Dr Hoernle has been misled by Thomas, whose account he quotes⁴⁴ as “Prithvi Deva *gold* coins are sufficiently common”. On the contrary, the *gold* coins of Prithvi Deva are very rare, and his copper coins still rarer, the only specimens of the latter known to me being two coins in my own collection. On these two copper coins the figure of the obverse is Hanuman with four arms, which is accurately described by James Prinsep (E. Thomas, 1, p. 395) as “the four handed god crushing a demon”. But this is certainly not the type of the *six gold* coins in the British Museum, of which the casts are now lying before me. From Dr Hoernle’s description of the obverse of the *seventh gold* coin (found this year in the Central Provinces) I gather that he takes the obverse figure to be Hanumán. His words are “the figure (of Hanumán) is *fairly distinct* on the *gold* coin”. I conjecture that he has adopted this opinion from Prinsep’s etching of my *copper* coin, for I cannot make out any trace of Hanuman on any of the *six* coins in the British Museum. In fact, I have not been able to make out any definite figure amongst the confusion of shapeless objects on these coins⁴⁵. I consider

⁴⁴ *Proceedings Benqal Asiatic Society*, April and May, 1893, p. 93.

⁴⁵ [This confused type may perhaps be intended to represent a lion facing r., rampant. The coins of Tajalla Deva and Ratra

that Thomas's description of "as usual" refers to the "seated goddess"

COINS OF THE KULACHURIS OF MAHAKOSALA OR E CHEDI

PLATE VIII			PRITHVI DEVA A D 1060—1090
No	Metal	Gr.	
6	N	59 5	British Museum 6 specimens from Payne Knight's collection A number of confused shapeless objects, surrounded by a circle of dots Indian inscription in two lines of large letters, <i>Sumat Prithvi Deva</i>
7	Æ	84	Author, unique obtained in 1885 Four armed male figure, holding different indistinct objects in his hands Indian inscription, same as on the gold coin
8	Æ	107	Author unique, obtained in 1885 Four armed figure of Hanuman with right foot trampling on a prostrate figure Indian inscription, same as on the gold coin
JĀJALLA DEVA, A D 1090—1120			
9	Æ	57 5	Indian Museum Calcutta, found in 1893 Large coins, 9 (<i>Brit Mus</i>) Very crude figure of Hanuman [Dr. Hoernle]. Indian inscription, <i>Sumat Jājalla Deva</i>
10	Æ	14	Indian Museum, 17 specimens, small, same type as last (<i>Brit Mus</i>)
RATNA DEVA, A D 1120—1140			
11	Æ	14	Indian Museum, 29 specimens, all small (<i>Brit Mus</i>) Very crude figure of Hanuman [Dr. Hoernle] Indian inscription, <i>Sumat Ratna Deva</i>

CHANDELLAS OF JĀJĀHUTI OR MAHOLA

Jējahuti, or *Jējābhukti*, the territory of the Chandellas, is also known by the name of its capital city of *Mahola* or

Deva figured in the plate have recently been presented to the British Museum by the Government of India, through the Asiatic Society of Bengal—L J R]

Mahotsava It comprised all the country lying between the Jumna on the north and the sources of the *Kiân* or *Ken* River on the south, and from the *Dhasân* River on the west to the *Vindhya* Mountains on the east. The *Ken* River (or *Karnavatî*) runs through the country from south to north, dividing it into two nearly equal portions, with the capital cities of *Mahobâ* and *Khajuraho* in the western half, and the great forts of *Kalanjar* and *Ajaygarh* in the eastern half. Its area was upwards of 12,000 square miles. Its wealth may be judged by the magnificent group of Temples still existing at *Khajurâho*, and its power may be judged by its conquest of *Kanauj*, and its defiance of *Mahmud of Ghazni*.

The popular traditions of the people as detailed in the *Mahoba Khând* derive their origin from *Chandrama*, or the Moon, by *Hemâvatî*, the daughter of *Hemraj*, the family priest of the *Raja* of *Benares*. But this popular tradition receives no support from the inscriptions, which assign them to the *Chandrâtreyâ* line. In the two long inscriptions of *Khajuraho* the earliest name mentioned is that of *Nannuka*, six generations before *Dhanga Deva*, whose date we know to be A D 953 to 999, and in *Dhanga's* own copper plate the earliest name recorded is that of his own grandfather, *Harsha Deva*.

The chief facts in the history of the *Chandels* have been given in my *Archæological Survey Reports*, but more particularly in my latest account in vol XXI, in which I have recorded all the known inscriptions of the family, with a detailed list of the kings, and a summary of their history. The earliest coins are those of *Kirtti Varma*, the antagonist of the *Kalachuri Karna Deva* of *Chedi*, to whom he was at one time tributary. His coins are of gold only, but of several of the later Princes there are both gold and copper coins. Only one silver coin has yet been found of

Jaya Varma The larger gold coins generally weigh upwards of sixty grains rising to sixty three, the smaller gold coins are of fifteen grains. The type is the same of all the gold coins. On the obverse the goddess Parvati seated, copied from the money of Gānggeya Deva of Chedi. The copper coins are of the same weights as the gold, sixty and fifteen grains, but their obverse type is a figure of Hanumān.

The larger gold coins are therefore golden *drammas*, and the smaller ones $\frac{1}{2}$ *drammas*.

CHANDELLAS OF JEJĀHUTI OR MAHOBA

No	Date		Names	Inscriptions
	V.Sam.	A.D.		
1	857	800	Nannuka Deva	
2	882	825	Vāhpati	
3		850	Vijaya	
4		875	Rāhula	
5		900	Harsha Deva	
6		925	Jaṣo Varma Deva	
7	1010	958	DHANGA DEVA	s 1011—1055
8	1056	999	GANDA DEVA	s 1056
9	1082	1025	Vijāyādhara Deva	
10	1097	1010	Vijaya Pāla Deva	
11	1107	1050	Deva Varma Deva	s 1107
12	1120	1063	Kīrti Varma Deva	s 1154
13	1155	1097	Hallaśhana Varma Deva	
14	1167	1110	Jaya Varma Deva	s 1173
15	1177	1120	Hallaśhana Varma Deva	
16	1179	1122	Prithvi Varma Deva	
17	1186	1129	Madana Varma Deva	s 1186—1220
18	1222	1165	Paravārdha Deva	s 1224
19	1268	1203	Trailokya Varma Deva	s 1269—1297
20	1297	1240	Vira Varma I	s 1312—1337
21	1339	1282	Bhoja Varma	s 1345
22	1357	1350	Vira Varma II	s 1372
30	1577	1520	Kirat Singh [Kīrti]	

COINS OF THE CHANDELLAS OF JEJĀHUTI OR MAHOBA

PLATE VIII			
No	Metal	Gra.	
			KIRTI VARMA, A D 1068—1097
12	N	68	Author, rare <i>Goddess Parvati</i> with four arms seated Indian legend in two lines, <i>Srimat Kirtti Varma Deva</i>
13	N	81	Author, same type and legend as No 12
			HALLAKSHANA VARMA DEVA, 1097—1110, A D
14	N	68	Author rare <i>Goddess Parvati</i> with four arms seated Indian legend, <i>Srimat Hallakshana Varma Deva</i>
15	N	15	Author, same type and legend as No 14
16	Æ	61	Author, rare Hanuman under a canopy Indian legend as on No 14
			JAYA VARMA DEVA, A D 1110—1120
17	Æ	60	Author, six specimens Hanumán as on No 16 Indian legend <i>Srimaj Jaya Varma Deva</i>
			PRITHVI VARMA DEVA, A.D 1122—1129
18	Æ	41	Author Hanumán, as No 16 Indian legend, <i>Srimat Prithvi Varma Deva</i>
			MADANA VARMA DEVA A D 1129—1165
19	N	61	Author <i>Goddess Parvati</i> , with four arms seated Indian legend, <i>Sriman Madana Varma Deva</i>
20	A	15	Author, same type and legend as No 19
21	Æ	15	Author, a worn coin Hanumán, as before Indian legend as on No 19
			PAPAMARDI DEVA, A.D 1165—1203
—	A		See Dr Hoernle, <i>Journal Asiatic Society</i> , <i>Bengal</i> 1889, Plate IV

PLATE VIII		
No	Metal	Obs
—	N	

Goddess Parvati, with four arms, seated.
Indian legend, *Sri m* [not distinct]

N.B.—I possess four *copper* coins which appear to bear the same legend, but I cannot read it satisfactorily,

Sri mad Va } *Sri mat Ke*
sara Matya } or *sara Mahi*
na Deva } — *Deva.*

VIRA VARMA I, A.D. 1210—1282

See Dr Hoernle, in the same Journal
Goddess Parvati, with four arms, as before.
Its devn legend, *Srimad Virā Varmma Deva.*

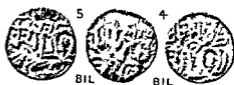
IX.—TOMARS OF DELHI AND KANAUJ.

According to the universally accepted tradition the city of *Indraprastha*, which had lain waste for seven hundred and ninety-two years, from the time of Vikramāditya, was refounded by Anang Pāl, a Tomara Rajput, and named *Delhi* (the *Dellu* of the present day), according to a legend which refers to the *Iron Pillar*.⁴⁵ The date is differently stated by some writers; but they only differ by a few years from Vikr. Samvat 792, or A.D. 735. But the kingdom of Delhi is not referred to by any of the early Muhammadan writers, and the first mention of it is during the campaigns of Muhammad Ibn Sām in the end of the twelfth century. Masudi, who travelled in the East in A.H. 332 = A.D. 943, does not notice Delhi; but he knows Kanauj, whose kings had the common title of *Bocara* or *Porara*, which I take to represent *Tomara* or *Tomara*, which was the family name of the kings of Delhi.

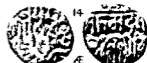
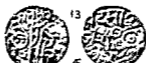
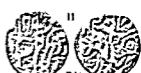
When Kanauj was captured by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1022, the reigning king, according to Utbi, was named *Rāj Pāl*, or *Rājapāl*, which I take to be Raja *Jaypāl*, who

⁴⁵ See *Archæol. Survey*, i. 171, where the legend is given at full length.

TOMARS



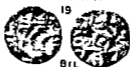
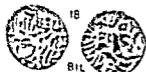
CHAUHANS



RAHTORS



UNKNOWN



the Poet, who lived under Muhammed Khilji in A D 1300 Speaking of Anangpāl I, he calls him "a great Rai who lived five hundred or six hundred years ago, that is between A D 700 and 800"⁴⁷

I have already quoted the statement of Masudi (A D 930—948) that the reigning family of Kanauj were Povaras (read Tovaras) I may also quote the statement of Alberuni, that Kanauj was rendered famous by the *Pândaras*, as Mathura was by Vâsu Deva⁴⁸ Now as the *Tomaras* were *Pundaras*, while their immediate predecessors in Kanauj were *Raghuvansis*, and their immediate successors were Rahtors, the statements of Alberuni can only apply to the Tomaras who reigned between them But when we find that the names of these Tomaras are absolutely identical with those of the rulers of Kanauj at that very time, and moreover are recorded in the same order, there can be little doubt of their identity These names are—

Jaypal, reigning when Mahmud took Kanauj

Kunicarpal, placed on the throne as his successor

Anangpal II, founder of Lalkot, after loss of Kanauj

With these identifications the chain of evidence seems to be complete

Of the Raghuvansis, Bhoja Deva, and his successors who call themselves kings of Mahodaya or Kanauj, I have already spoken The last of these Princes of whom we have any record is Devapāla, whose latest date is A D 948 The earliest Tomara Raja of whom we have coins is *Salakshana-pāla*, whose date is A D 978

The successors of the Tomars were the Rahtors, who, under their leader Chandra Deva, conquered Kanauj about A D 1050, or perhaps a few years later, as Anangpāl II

⁴⁷ H M Elliot, iii 565

⁴⁸ Sachau's *Alberuni* i 199, Rashid ud din says the same
H M Elliot, i 54

is said to have founded Lalkot at Delhi in A.D. 1060. There are no coins or inscriptions of the conqueror Chandra Deva, but we have an inscription of his son Madana Pála, dated in s. 1154 or A.D. 1097, and an inscription of his grandson Govinda Chandra Deva, dated in s. 1177 or A.D. 1120, when he was a young man; and from these I calculate that Madana Pál's accession may be assigned to A.D. 1080, and Chandra Deva's accession about A.D. 1050, allowing twenty-five years to each generation. This would place the conquest of Kanauj by the Rahtors soon after A.D. 1050.

Of the *Chauhāns* we have got the only trustworthy account from their inscriptions. The Prithvi Rāj Rāsau is a forgery, as shown by Dr. Buhler,⁴⁹ and Tod's list and the Bardic chronicles, which were derived from Chand, are consequently worthless. Dr. Buhler quotes the two inscriptions of v.s. 1030 and v.s. 1225, and the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*, written by a Kashmiri Pundit, as giving the true genealogy. To these I may add my own Madanpur inscription, which gives both the genealogy and the date of the conquest of *Jejābhukti*, or *Jejāhuti*, in a few lines⁵⁰

*Aum ! Aruno-rajasya pautrena Sri
Somesvarasununa Jejābhuktidesoyam Prithvirajena
lunitah S. 1239*

From this we learn that the conquest of *Jejāhuti* (or *Mahoba*) took place in s. 1239 or A.D. 1182.

According to the *Prithvirāja Vijaya*, Aruno had three sons:

1 Nameless, who murdered his father	2. Visala Deva, or Vighraha Raja	3 Someswara
Prithivi Bhāṭa	No son	Prithivi Raja

⁴⁹ *Asiat Society of Bengal Proceedings*, 1893, pp. 93, 94

⁵⁰ *Archaeol Survey of India*, xxi 174

We have coins of *Someswara* and of *Prithvi Raja*, but I know of none of *Visala* (or *Vigraha*) or of the nephew *Prithvi Bhata*. And no coins have yet been found of *Aruno* (or *Avella Deva*). The kingdom of *Visala Deva* is called *Sukambhari* (Sambhar) in the Delhi Pillar inscription, and in the Prithivirâja-Vijaya the kingdom of the Chauhâns is said to be Ajayamera or Ajmer. In the Hammira Mahâkavya it is called *Sapudalaksha* (Sawâlak) of which *Ajmer* and *Hânsi* were the acknowledged capitals. I have visited all these places, but I have never found any coins which I could assign to *Aruno* or to *Visala*. I have, however, several coins with strange names which I believe to belong to the Chauhâns of Ajmer.

RAJAS OF DELHI AND KANAUJ

A D	TOMARS	RAGHU VANSIS	RAJAS
736	ANANG PÂL I		
753			
772			
793			
813			
833		830	
848			
874			
895			
918			
939	Sukhpal (or Tejpal)		
960	Gopâl		
978	Sallakshanpâl		
1003	Jaipal		
1019	Kumar Pâl		
1049	ANANGA PAL II		1050 CHANDRA DEVA
1079	Vijaya Pal (or Tej Pâl)		1080 Madan Pal
1103	Mahi Pâl		1116 Govinda Chandra
1128	ANANGA PÂL III		
1149			1165 Jaya Chandra
	CHAUHANS		
1120?	Aruno Raja		
1150?	VISALA 1162		
1162	Someswara		
1166	Prithvi Raja		
1191			1193

COINS OF THE TOMARS OF DELHI AND KANAUJ

PLATE IX		
No	Metal	Grns
1	Bil	
		<p>SALLAKSHANA PALA DEVA, A D 978—1003 Author E Thomas, <i>Pathan Kings</i>, p 62 Wrongly attributed to Kabul Horseman carrying lance to right, copied from coins of Brahman Kings of Kabul Indian legend, <i>Sri Sallakshana Pala Deva</i> Recumbent humped Bull <i>Sri Samanta Deva</i></p>
2	AR	
		<p>AJAYA PALA DEVA, A D 1003—1019 Author Four armed figure of Lakshmi seated Copied from Chedi coins of Ganggeya Deva <i>Rev</i> —Indian legend in three lines, <i>Sri Ajaya</i> <i>Pala Deva</i></p>
3	N	
		<p>KUMARA PALA DEVA, A D 1019—1049 Author, several of these coins came from Kabul Four armed figure of Lakshmi seated. <i>Rev</i> —Indian legend in three lines, <i>Sri nat</i> <i>Kumara Pala Deva</i></p>
4	Bil	
5	Bil	
		<p>ANANGA PALA DEVA, A D 1049—1079 Author. Horseman with lance <i>Sri Ananga Pala Deva</i> Recumbent humped Bull <i>Malhava Sri</i> <i>Samanta Deva</i></p>
6	N	
7	AR	
8	Bil	
		<p>MAHI PALA, A D 1103—1123 Author Four armed figure of Lakshmi seated Indian legend, <i>Sri nat Mahi la Deva</i></p> <p>Author Type and legend same as on No 6</p> <p>Author Recumbent humped Bull <i>Sri Mahi la Deva</i> Horseman</p>

COINS OF THE CHAUHANS OF AJMER AND DELHI.

PLATE IX			
No	Metal	Grs.	
9	Bil	53	<p>SOMESWARA DEVA, A.D. 1162—1166</p> <p>Author, E. Thomas, <i>Pathans</i>, p. 63, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> XIX 28</p> <p>Horseman with lance to right <i>Sri Someswara Deva</i></p> <p>Recumbent humped Bull <i>Asa cari Sri Samanta Deva</i></p>
10	Bil	52	<p>PRITHVI RAJA DEVA A.D. 1166—1192</p> <p>Author, E. Thomas <i>Pathans</i>, p. 64, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, XIX. 18</p> <p>Horseman with lance to right <i>Sri Prithvi Raja Deva</i></p> <p>Recumbent Bull, humped <i>Asawari Sri Samanta Deva</i></p>
11	Bil		<p>PRITHVI RAJA and MUHAMMAD bin SAM, A.D. 1192⁵¹</p> <p>Author, three specimens, E. Thomas, <i>Pathans</i>, p. 11</p> <p>Horseman with lance to right <i>Sri Prithvi Raja</i></p> <p>Recumbent humped Bull <i>Sri Mahamad Same</i></p>
12	N		<p>MUHAMMAD bin SAM</p> <p>Author, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, XXI 25, E. Thomas, <i>Pathans</i>, p. 20</p> <p>Lakshmi with four arms seated. Copied from the coins of Govinda Chandra</p> <p>Indian legend in three lines, <i>Sri Mahan ad bene Sam</i></p>

⁵¹ The occurrence of these two names on the same coin is to be explained by the facts related by *Minhaj*, who assigns the capitulation of Delhi to the year A.H. 587 (A.D. 1191), when Prithvi Raja became tributary. Aibek then retired to Hansi, but returned to Delhi in A.H. 589 (A.D. 1193) and captured the city. I assign these coins to the intermediate year A.H. 588 = A.D. 1192.

PLATE IX.

No.	Metal.	Gr.	
13	Æ		Author, E Thomas, <i>Pathans</i> , Pl. I., 9, p 15 Horseman with lance <i>Sri Hamirah</i> Copied from coins of Prithvi Raja Recumbent humped Bull <i>Sri Mahamad Same</i>
14	Æ		Author, E Thomas, <i>Pathans</i> , Pl I., 10, p 16 Rude execution Horseman with lance <i>Sri Hamirah</i> Recumbent humped Bull. <i>Sri Mahamad Same</i>

COINS OF THE RAHTORS OF KANAUJ

			MADANA PĀLA DEVA, A D 1080—1115
15	Bil		Author, E Thomas, <i>Pathans</i> , p 62, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XIX 19 Horseman with lance to right <i>Sri Madana Pala Deva</i> Recumbent humped Bull. <i>Mudhara Sri Samanta Deva</i>
			GOVINDA CHANDRA DEVA, A D 1115—1165
16	AR		Author, E Thomas, <i>Pathans</i> p 19 Lakshmi with four arms seated Copied from coins of Ganggeya Deva of Chedi Indian legend, <i>Srimad Govinda Chandra Deva</i>
			AJAYA CHANDRA (Jay chand), A D 1165—1193
17	AR		Author, nine specimens Lakshmi with four arms seated Indian legend <i>Sri Ajaya Deva</i>
			UNKNOWN RAJPUT COINS
			Very little can be said of any one of these coins as the names are all more or less imperfect and their complete readings can therefore only be guessed E Thomas has

PLATE IX

No	Metal	Gr	
			given four of them tentatively, and with his readings I partly agree My readings are taken from my own coins
			PIPALA
18	Bil		Author, three specimens, E Thomas <i>Pathans</i> p 59 <i>Horseman Sri Pipala</i> <i>Humped Bull Kutamana Sri Samanta Deva</i> All my specimens agree in this reading on the Bull side, but E Thomas reads only <i>Asduari Sri Samanta Deva</i> Chand mentions <i>Pipa Parihar</i> Raja of Sambhar I found the same name in the books of <i>Muk j</i> , the Bard of the Khichi Chauhans There was also a <i>Pipanyar</i> Raja in the same books
19	Bil		Author, unique <i>Horseman Sri Ja++</i> <i>Recumbent Bull Sri Samanta</i>
20	Bil		Author, unique <i>Horseman + Bhilh + + (or Bhishma)</i> <i>Recumbent Bull Sri Samanta Deva</i>
21	Bil		Author, one coin, E Thomas, <i>Pathans</i> , p 53, three coins <i>Horseman Ail + E T has Sri Kuli Deva</i> <i>Recumbent Bull + pala Sri Samanta Deva</i> E T reads the same, p 59
22	Bil		Author, unique <i>Horseman Sri Hamurah</i> <i>Recumbent Bull Mau + Sri Udme?</i>
23	Bil		Author, two coins, E Thomas, <i>Pathans</i> , p 59 <i>Horseman Sri ++</i> <i>Recumbent Bull Sri Kathana or Kilhana?</i> On the saddle cloth Persian legend
—	Bil		Author, two coins, not in Plate, E Thomas, <i>Pathans</i> , p 59 <i>Horseman Sri Pithi ++</i> <i>Recumbent Bull Raja Sri Samanta</i> My second coin, <i>Asauari Sri Samanta</i> , as E T has it

The Billon coins of mixed silver and copper, which were adopted by all the later kings of the Tomaras and Chauhans, are called *Dihicāls* or *Diliāls* by the early Muhammadan writers. They were copied by Muhammad bin Sām and his successor; but the native Hindu name is not known. Neither is their exact value known; but I believe that after the *silver tangkas* came into use in the reign of *Ititmish*, the *Diliāls* became the *jitals* or *chitals* of 40 and 50 to the tangka. Taking the silver in each as 28 grains, the fifty pieces would contain 120 grains of silver, and 50 times 50, or 2,500 grains of copper. Allowing 50 rates of copper, the quantity of this metal would be worth 50 of silver and the 50 *diliāls* would therefore be worth 170 grains of silver, or just one silver tangka.

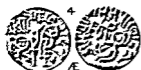
NARWAR



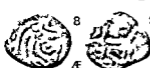
MALAYA VARMA DEVA



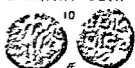
CHAHADA DEVA



ASALLA DEVA

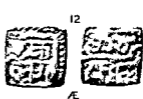
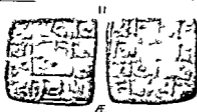


GANAPATI DEVA

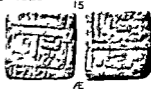


MEWAR

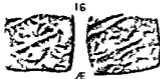
RANA KUMBHO A D 1418 1468



RANA SANGRAMA A D 1508-1529



RANA VIKRAMADITYA A D 1532



RANA BANBIR A D 1539



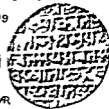
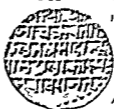
MEWAR

CHITRAKUT UDAYPUR



INDOR

JESWANT RAO HOLKAR



The Billon coins of mixed silver and copper, which were adopted by all the later kings of the Tomaras and Chauhans, are called *Dihuals* or *Dihals* by the early Muhammadan writers. They were copied by Muhammad bin Sâm and his successor, but the native Hindu name is not known. Neither is their exact value known, but I believe that after the *silver tanghas* came into use in the reign of *Ilutmish*, the *Dihals* became the *jitals* or *clitals* of 40 and 50 to the tangha. Taking the silver in each as 28 grains, the fifty pieces would contain 120 grains of silver, and 50 times 50, or 2500 grains of copper. Allowing 50 rates of copper, the quantity of this metal would be worth 50 of silver and the 50 *dihals* would therefore be worth 170 grains of silver, or just one silver tangha.

X—RAJPUTS OF NARWAR

The coins assigned to the mediæval Rajas of Narwar are found chiefly at Narwar itself and in the neighbouring cities of Jhânsi and Gwalior. The assignment is confirmed by the discovery of inscriptions giving the genealogy of five princes of the family, from *Chulara Deva* down to *Ganapati*. But we have coins of an earlier king, *Malaya Varma Deva*, who, though not mentioned either in history or in the inscriptions, must have ruled at Narwar, as his coins are found along with those of the recorded kings. They also bear dates in Samvat years, as we find on the coins of the known Rajas of Narwar, *Chahara Deva*, *Asalla Deva*, and *Ganapati Deva*.

The following list of the Rajas of Narwar has been drawn up from the inscriptions and from the dates furnished by the coins and other sources —

RAJAS OF NALAPURA OR NARWAR

Accession			Dates from Inscriptions and Coins.
Sam.	A D		
1294	1237	Malaya Varmma Deva Châhâda Deva	s 1280, 82 83, 90 s 129, 1303, 1305, 1306, 1311
1312	1255	Nri Varmma	
1312	1255	Asalla Deva	s 1327, 1330
1395	1278	Gopâla	s 1337
1347	1290	Ganapati	e 1348, 1355

The inscriptions relating to the Rajas of Narwar were found at the following places —

No 1 at *Rat*, dated S 1327 = A D 1270, in time of Asalla Deva.

No 2 at *Dahu*, dated S 1337 = A.D 1280, mentioning Gopala Raja

No 3 at *Surcaya*, dated S 1218 = A.D 1201, in time of Ganapati Raja

No 4 at *Narwar*, dated S 1255 = A.D 1298, in time of Ganapati.

Of *Malaya Varmma Deva* we know nothing except his date which we gather from his coins. From his name of Varmma I was at first inclined to look upon him as of a different family, but as Châhâda Deva's son was named Nri-Varmma, this Malaya may have belonged to the Narwar family.

Of Châhâda Deva we have two apparently conflicting accounts both related by the same writer, Minhâj, in his *Tubakât-i-Nâsirî*. As he was a contemporary, I am inclined to adopt his accounts, and to make an attempt to reconcile them.

According to the earlier accounts *Rana Châhar Achari*,

of Ranthambhor and the Koh payah of Mewât, was defeated by the Muhammadan general, Tâbasî, sent from Delhi in A H 631 or 632 = A D 1234 or 1235, at the end of the reign of Iltutmish. He is described as the "*most noble and illustrious of all the Rais of Hindustan*"⁵². He is also called Nâhar Deo.

In the later accounts of A H 649 = A D 1251, *Chahar Deo Achârî* was defeated by Ulughkhan on his return from the plunder of Kâlanjar, at the defiles of the Sindh River near the fortress of Narwar. He is in this account called "*the greatest of the Rais of all that part of the country*"⁵³.

Major Raverty, the translator of the *Tabakât*, thinks that two different Hindu chiefs are intended, while E. Thomas confidently identifies them as one and the same person⁵⁴. Major Raverty's opinion is not without support, but I feel inclined to agree with Thomas. I found my conclusion on the title of *Achârî*, which is given to the Ranthambhor Chahâr Deo in this account, and to the Narwar Chahâr Deo in all the accounts. Much speculation has been spent in trying to explain this title. It sometimes is written *Chahâr-i-Achârî*, or "*Chahar of Achârî*," but no place of this name is known. As *Chalur-Achârî*, it has been supposed to designate the Raja as an *Acharya*, or "religious teacher." In my opinion it is only an attempt to represent in Persian characters the title of *Asâvarî*, which is found on the Raja's own coins as the independent ruler of Ranthambhor, "*Asâvarî Sri Samanta Dera*," and then as the tributary under *Shams-*

⁵² Raverty's Translation, pp 791 and 824

⁵³ Raverty, p 824

⁵⁴ *Pallans*, pp 67—70

ud din Iltitmiş as "*Asāicari Sri Samasorala Deva*"⁵⁵
 Now this title of *Achari*, although it does not appear on the Narwar coins, is always given to the Raja Chahār Deo of that place

I conclude that Chahār Deo latterly took up his residence at Narwar, which, according to the inscriptions, was his birthplace. His Narwar coins begin with one date in 129x Samvat, the unit figure being gone. If taken as S 1291 the date would be A D 1234 in the last year of Iltitmiş. But as I have one coin of Malaya Varmma Deva dated 129x, Chahār Deo's date may be taken as late as S 1294 = A D 1237

COINS OF THE RAJPUTS OF NARWAR

PLATE X			
No	Metal	Gra	
1	Æ		MALAYA VARMMMA DEVA, A D 1280 Author, 18 specimens Rude copy of horseman Indian legend, <i>Sri Malaya Varmma Deva</i> , S 1280
2	Æ		Author, type same as No 1 <i>Sri Malaya Varmma Deva</i> , S 83
3	Æ		Author, type same as No 1, date, S 9+, unit figure lost
			CHAHADA DEVA, A D 1234—1255
4	Æ		Author, 12 specimens mixed silver and copper, E Thomas, <i>Pathans</i> , p 70 Horseman to right <i>Sri Chāhāda Deva</i> Recumbent humped Bull <i>Asawari Sri Samasorala Deva</i>
—	Æ		<i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , Pl XIX, 16, E Thomas <i>Pathans</i> , p 70 Same as No 4, but reverse legend, <i>Asawari Sri Samanta Deva</i>

⁵⁵ E Thomas, *Pathans*, p 70

PLATE X		
No	Metal	Gr.
5	Æ	Author, copper coins, 14 specimens Rude horseman, no legend Legend in three lines, <i>Srimat Chahada Deva</i> , S 129+, unit lost
6	Æ	Author, same types as No 5, S 1803
7	Æ	Author, same types, S 1311
ASALLA DEVA, A.D. 1255—1278		
8	Æ	Author, 8 specimens Rude horseman to right, scarcely traceable Legend in three lines, <i>Srimat Asala Deva</i> , S 1330
9	Æ	Author, same types, S 1312
GANAPATI DEVA, A.D. 1347		
10	Æ	Author, unique Rude horseman, scarcely traceable Legend in three lines, <i>Srimat Ganapati Deva</i> , S 134+, unit figure lost

RAJPUTS OF MEDAPÂTA OR MEWÂR

Medapâta or *Mewâr*, the most southerly of the great Rajput kingdoms, comprises all the country on the upper course of the *Varnanâsa* or *Banâs* River, including a compact territory upwards of 200 miles in length from north to south, by more than 100 miles in breadth from east to west. Its ancient capital was *Chitrâcar* or *Chitor*, which is still the great stronghold of the kingdom but its present capital is *Udaypur*, which is now the common name for the principality.

Its rulers have long been known as one of the highest caste Rajputs, the *Gobhulas* or *Guhilas*, whose traditional history begins with *Bappa Râwal*. According to the records of the family *Bappa Râwal* captured Chitor from a *Mori* chief in the year S 191. This is the date recorded in the books of Mukji, the Khichi bard, which I examined

myself, and which Mukji's sons corroborated by repeating a verse beginning with *Eka sao angkanbi*, (*Eka sau ekānavī*), "In the year one hundred and ninety-one," and ending with "Bappa Rāwal his kingdom won" This date I should refer to the Harsha era of A D 607, which would give $606 + 191 = 797$ A D Tod gives A D 727, but does not say how he obtained it

We have no coins that can be assigned to any of the early Rānas of Mewār It is probable that coins were struck by some of them, but as they would be of Sassanian type, without names or with only single letters, none can be assigned

It is possible that some of the unassigned Horseman and Bull coins of Plate IX might belong to the Rānas who were contemporary with Prithvi Raja Chauhān We might expect to find specimens of *Samara Sinha*, the Gohila son in law of Prithvi Raja, but none have appeared Perhaps the last coin in Plate IX., fig 23, may belong to Samara Sinha's son, *Karana* or *Kalhana*

But the first coins that can be assigned with certainty to Mewār are the two square pieces in Plate X figs 11, 12, which bear the name of Rāna *Kumbhakarna*, or *Kumbho*, the founder of the hill-fortress of *Kumbhalmer* These pieces are of historical interest, as they must be specimens of the actual *tankas*, coined in his own name by Rāna Kumbho, which gave so much offence when offered to the Muhammadan invader, Mahmud I of Malwa Ferishtā, who relates the story, says that when Mahmud reached Chitor,⁵⁶ Rāna Kumbho, in order to avert the approaching calamity, met the king on the road, and made a large offering of money (*tankas*) coined in his own

⁵⁶ Briggs & Ferishtā IV 221

name, which so incensed Mahmud that he returned the whole sum. But some time afterwards Mahmud accepted 10 lakhs of *tanlas*, without any scruple, from the same king.⁵⁷ The fact is, that when the Muhammadan prince was successful, he was insolent and overbearing; but when he was obliged to raise the siege of Chitor, he became milder in his conduct, and was glad to receive the money as a present. The Hindus, however, looked upon the raising of the siege as a confession of defeat, and Râna Kumbho erected in commemoration his graceful Pillar of Victory in the fortress of Chitor. This is the famous *Jaya Stambha*, "Pillar of Victory," which still stands erect in Chitor, and which the people more generally call *Kirtti Kambh*, or "Pillar of Fame."

During his long reign of fifty years Râna Kumbho built the strong fortress of *Kumbhalmer* to command a pass in the Aravalli range, leading from Udaypur to Jodhpur. It is 50 miles nearly north from Udaypur, 100 miles nearly south from Jodhpur, and the same distance west from Chitor. It was reconnoitred by Mahmud from a neighbouring hill. He wished to besiege it, but was obliged to give up his wish with the acknowledgment that the siege would be too long. Kumbho was at last murdered by his eldest son *Oda*, in A.D. 1468; but the murderer did not enjoy the throne long, as he was supplanted five years later by *Raumat* or *Ranmal*, the father of the famous *Sangrâma*.

Râna Sangrâma, or *Râna Sanga*, as he is most commonly called by the people, succeeded in A.D. 1508. He is styled by Tod the *Kalas*, or "Pinnacle," of Mewâr glory, because he fought with the Emperor Baber a very severe

⁵⁷ Briggs, iv p. 224.

battle at *Kānca* I have visited the place, which the people believe to be haunted at midnight by long processions of the ghosts of the slain

Sangrama's coins are square pieces of copper of the Muhammadan kings of Malwa, restructed on one face only with the Rāna's name and the date of the Samvat year, while the other side still retains the name and titles of the Muhammadan king, either complete or in part. On one piece the obverse only gives the name of Sangrāma with the Hindu date, the rest of the type being the remains of the Muhammadan inscription

The remaining coins of the Mewār princes, Vikramāditya and Banbir, are even ruder than those of Sangrāma. I have given one specimen of each in Plate X.

As the Mewār coinage begins with that of Rāna Kumbho it is not necessary to give a long list of the kings. I therefore commence the following list with Rāna Mokajji, the father of Kumbho, and conclude it with Rāna Udaya, during whose reign Chitor was successfully besieged by Akbar in A D 1580

GOPHILA RĀNAS OF MEWAR.

Accession		RANAS	
Sam	A D		
1454	1397	Mokajji	Kumbho
1475	1418	Kumbhakarṇa	
1525	1468	Oda	
1530	1473	Raimal, or Ranmal	Sanga
1565	1508	Sangrama	
1586	1529	Ratna	
1589	1532	Vikramāditya	
1596	1539	Banbir	
1597	1540	Udaya Singha	

The only known money of the Rânas of Mewâr is of copper, and square in form, after the old Hindu fashion. The earliest specimens are those of Râna Kumbho, "*coined in his own name,*" which were so unceremoniously refused by the Muhammadan king. These copper pieces are called *talas* in the histories, which was the common Hindu name for the copper *Kârshapana*, which had been

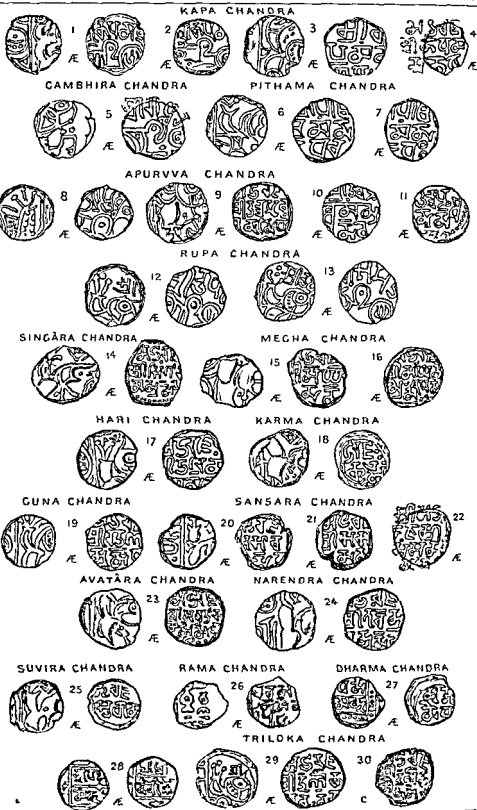


PLATE X
No | Grs

1856 in Lahor before the mutiny. I have since seen a gold mohur of the same type *Chitrakuta*, or *Chitor*, is the famous fortress of Mewar, and *Udayapur* is the present capital. The legend, *Friend of London*, was used before the mutiny

INDOR

JESWANT RAO HOLKAR.

19 | 178 | Author, duplicate, Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 60, rupee

The following description is from Prinsep. His coin weighed 174.95 grains and its pure contents 165.84 grains

Obv — *Sri Indraprasthasthito raja chakravarti bhuman dale,*

Tatprasadat krita mudra lohesmin vai varajite,

Rev — *Lakshmiik ntapadambhojabhramararajitachetasah, Yeshantaryya rikhyata mudraisha prithivitale*

"By permission of the King of Indraprastha [Delhi], the Emperor of the World, this coin has been struck by the renowned Yeswant, whose heart is as the black bee of the lotus foot of Lakshmiikant, to circulate through out the earth. Saka, 1728' [=A.D. 1806]

XI — TRICARTTA, OR JALANDHAR, OR KANGRA

The rich district of Jalandhar originally comprised the two Doabs lying between the rivers Ravi and Satlej. The capital of the country was the city of *Jalandhar*, and *Kot-Kangra* was its chief stronghold. The name was derived from the Danava Jalandhara, the son of the Ocean and the Ganges River. The legend about his defeat by Siva I have related in another place.⁵⁷ The full name of the

⁵⁷ *Arch. and Survey of India*, v. 146

descended from the Bull and Horseman type" They are, he goes on to say, "coarsely executed imitations" of them, with the common superscription of "*Sri Sāmanta Deva*"

This also was my opinion when I arranged Plate XI in 1850 Mr C J Rodgers came to the same conclusion He says, "all the coins of the Kāngra Rājas, with some few rare exceptions, are of the Horseman type Some are of the Bull and Horseman type, with the names of the Rājas over the Bulls Nay, more than this, the earliest Kangra coins bear the name of Sāmanta Deva over the Bull" This is the very same conclusion that Bayley and myself had arrived at more than forty years ago The earliest coins of the Kāngra mint bear the name of *Sri Sāmanta Deva* The next step was to place the name of the Kāngra Rāja over the Bull, as in Nos 1 and 2 of *Kapa Chandra*, No 5 of *Gambhira Chandra*, and No 12 of *Rupa Chandra* But No 13 of *Rupa Chandra* gives the Raja's name over the Horseman, and that of *Samanta Deva* over the Bull

I have given a coin of *Guna Chandra* of Guler because he was the son of *Hari-Chandra*, A D 1405 to 1420 There is a curious story attached to the foundation of the *Guler Raj* by *Hari Chandra*⁶⁰ He and *Karma Chandra* were brothers, and *Hari*, as the elder brother, succeeded his father as Raja of *Trigaitta* Some years after his accession he fell down a well at *Harsar* when out sporting, and could not be found His younger brother, *Karma*, was then proclaimed Raja, and his wives became *Satis* After a few days he was discovered by a *Baipari*, who got him out of the well and revived him But as his funeral ceremonies had been performed he could not recover his

⁶⁰ *Archæol Survey of India*, v 151

the silver money of the Indo Greek Princes Menander and Apollodotus. In fact, a large number of the silver pieces of Apollodotus were found in a field at *Jwâla mukhi*. This money apparently remained in use until the mediæval period of the Brahman Kings of Kabul, whose coins, and more especially those of *Sâmanta Deva*, were issued in such numbers that no new coinage was attempted by succeeding princes, and they remained until the Muhammadan conquest almost the sole currency of the Panjab and North West India. The Ghazni Kings of Labor, Masaud Modûd, Ibrahim and Farokhzad and the Hindu Kings of North West India, the Tomars Sallakshan Pal and Anang Pal, the Rahtor Madan Pal, and the Chauhân Prithvi Raja, all adopted the type of the horseman with the title of Sri Samanta Deva.

The coins shown in Plate XI were all drawn by my own hand upwards of forty years ago, and more than thirty years ago the plate was sent to Calcutta for publication in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*. But it was afterwards returned to me as there was some difficulty about getting it engraved in Calcutta. Since then the whole of my collection of Kângra coins has been lost in the wreck of the steamer *Indus*, off Ceylon. It included many good specimens of the known Rajas, acquired since 1850, besides an unique specimen of the royal poet Mânîkya Chandra Deva.

In 1853 Sir Clive Bayley published a short notice of the coins of the Kângra Rajas, including the money of eight kings. He refers to my previous notice of "*some years before*" (see *Prinsep's Antiquities*, by E. Thomas 1, 392) in which I had made known the names of fourteen kings. I notice this paper of Sir Clive Bayley because he states his opinion that these coins are "evidently

descended from the Bull and Horseman type" They are, he goes on to say, "coarsely executed imitations" of them, with the common superscription of "*Sri Samanta Deva*"

This also was my opinion when I arranged Plate XI in 1850 Mr C J Rodgers came to the same conclusion He says, "all the coins of the Kangra Râjas, with some few rare exceptions, are of the Horseman type Some are of the Bull and Horseman type, with the names of the Râjas over the Bulls Nay, more than this, the earliest Kângra coins bear the name of Sâmantâ Deva over the Bull" This is the very same conclusion that Bayley and myself had arrived at more than forty years ago The earliest coins of the Kângra mint bear the name of *Sri Sâmantâ Deva* The next step was to place the name of the Kangra Raja over the Bull, as in Nos 1 and 2 of *Kapa Chandra*, No 5 of *Gambhira Chandra*, and No 12 of *Rupa Chandra* But No 13 of *Rupa Chandra* gives the Raja's name over the Horseman, and that of Sâmantâ Deva over the Bull

I have given a coin of *Guna Chandra* of Guler because he was the son of *Hari-Chandra*, A D 1405 to 1420 There is a curious story attached to the foundation of the *Guler Raj* by *Hari Chandra** He and *Karmma Chandra* were brothers, and *Hari*, as the elder brother, succeeded his father as Raja of *Trigartta* Some years after his accession he fell down a well at *Harsar* when out sporting, and could not be found His younger brother, *Karmma*, was then proclaimed Raja, and his wives became *Satis* After a few days he was discovered by a *Baipari*, who got him out of the well and revived him But as his funeral ceremonies had been performed he could not recover his

* *Archæol Surrey of India*, v 151

COPPER COINS OF RAJAS OF KANGRA—continued

PLATE VI		Obverse	Reverse
No	Date		
	A D 1390		MEGHA CHANDRA
15		Horseman	} <i>Maharaja Sri Megha Chandra Deva</i>
16		Do	
	1405		HARI CHANDRA
17		Horseman	} <i>Maharaja Sri Hari Chandra Deva</i>
	1420		
18		Horseman	} <i>Maharaja Sri Karma Chandra Deva</i>
	1420		
19		Horseman	} <i>Maharaja Sri Guna Chandra Deva</i>
	1435		
20		Horseman	} <i>Maharaja Sri Sansara Chandra Deva</i>
21		Do	
22		Do	

N B —Guna Chandra was the son of Hari Chandra and succeeded his father as Raja of Guler, of which Haripur was the capital. The story of Hari Chandra's accession to the *gadi* of Guler has been told in a previous page. The coins of Hari Chandra are common and I conclude that some of them were struck as Raja of Kangra, and some as Raja of Guler. There are no coins of his successors except this one of his son, Guna Chandra.

COPPER COINS OF RAJAS OF KANGRA—continued

PLATE XI		Obverse	Reverse
No	Date		
	A. D.		
	1450	AVATĀRA CHANDRA	
23		Horseman . . .	{ <i>Maharaja Sri Atatara Chandra Deva</i>
		N.B.—The name of <i>Atatara</i> does not occur in any of the lists of the Rajas of Kangra, but I believe that it is only a synonym for <i>Devanga</i> , of whom I formerly possessed one coin kindly given to me by Mr C J Rodgers.	
	1465	NARENDRA CHANDRA.	
24		Horseman . . .	{ <i>Maharaja Sri Narendra Chandra Deva</i>
	1480	SUVĪRA CHANDRA.	
25		Horseman . . .	{ <i>Maharaja Sri Narendra Chandra Deva</i>
	1510	RĪMA-CHANDRA	
26		Unknown symbols .	{ [<i>Maharaja</i>] <i>Sri Rama Chandra Deva s 1585 = A.D 1528</i>
		N.B.—This is the only specimen of a dated coin that I have met with.	
	1528	DHARMA CHANDRA.	
27		<i>Dharma Chandra . . .</i>	{ <i>Munaga Deva (?)</i>
28		<i>Sri Dharma Chandra</i>	{ <i>* dra Deva</i>

COPPER COINS OF RAJAS OF KANGRA—continued

PLATE XI		Obverse	Reverse
No	Date		
—	A D 1568	<p>MANIKYA CHANDRA</p> <p>* * * * { Maharaja Sri Manikya Chandra Deva</p> <p>N B—This unique coin was lost with all my Kangra collection in the wreck of the Indus steamer. It was a large thick piece, with the legend in Nagari letters</p>	
29	1610	<p>TRILOKA CHANDRA</p> <p>Horseman Sri { Maharaja Sri Triloka Chandra Deva</p>	
30		<p>Horseman { Same legend as No 29</p>	

